John Adams
Library,

IN THE CUSTODY OF THE
BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.

SHELF No.
ADAMS
163.10
v.1

P. P. Rubens pinxit.

MAXIMILIEN DE BETHUNE
Duke of Sully. Great Master of the
Ordnance; Marshal of France &c.
born at Rosny in 1559. died at his Seat of
Villebon in the County of Chartrain *Dec. 21. 1641.*

John Adams 1772

MEMOIRS

OF

MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,

DUKE OF SULLY,

PRIME MINISTER TO

HENRY THE GREAT.

CONTAINING

The History of the LIFE and REIGN of that MONARCH,
And his own ADMINISTRATION under Him.

Translated from the FRENCH.

To which is added,

The TRYAL of RAVAILLAC for the Murder of
HENRY THE GREAT.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand; R. and J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall; and W. SHROPSHIRE, in New-Bond-Street.

M.DCC.LXIII.

J

ADAMS 163.10
v.1

To the High, Puiſſant, and Moſt Noble Prince

THOMAS HOLLES-PELHAM,

Duke of Newcaſtle, Marquis and Earl of Clare,

Viſcount Haughton, and Baron Pelham of Laughton,

AND BARONET,

One of His Majeſty's Privy-Council, Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum for the Counties of Middleſex, Weſtminſter, and Nottingham; Steward, Keeper, and Guardian of the Foreſt of Sherwood, and Park of Folewood, in the County of Nottingham; One of the Governors of the Charter-Houſe, Knight of the Moſt Noble Order of the Garter, Firſt Lord Commiſſioner of His Majeſty's Treaſury, Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge, LL. D. and F. R. S.

MY LORD,

AUTHORS are often unfortunate in the choice of their Patrons: and Works are devoted, with great ſolemnity, to the uſe of thoſe who cannot uſe them, and the pleaſure of thoſe whom they cannot pleaſe.

THAT I have avoided this impropriety, in dedicating to your GRACE theſe MEMOIRS OF THE DUKE OF SULLY, a whole Nation, whoſe affairs you have ſo long and ſo happily directed, will bear me witneſs: But then, I can claim no praiſe from my own diſcernment; becauſe I only echo the Voice of the People, and addreſs myſelf where that leads me.

DEDICATION.

THOUGH my ſex and manner of life makes me a ſtranger to public affairs; I yet diſcover of myſelf, that the Hiſtory I have tranſlated, is not only intereſting but important: and that the original author of it was not only well verſed in all the prime operations of the government, but that he ſaved a Nation, by bringing method and order into every branch of her revenues, and adminiſtring the whole with the moſt accurate economy.

A Book, thus filled with political wiſdom, could be fitly offered only to Him, who lays out his whole time and attention, in labours of the ſame tendency; and for the ſervice of a more free, and therefore a nobler People.

THAT PROVIDENCE may co-operate with your endeavours; and that your GRACE may ſteer not only ſafely, but triumphantly, through every difficulty of the preſent conjuncture, are wiſhes ſo natural to all true Britons, that they cannot be thought improper even from a woman, and in this public manner. She is, with the profoundeſt Reſpect,

MY LORD,

Your GRACE's moſt Obedient,

London, Sept. 5. 1755.

and moſt Humble Servant,

CHARLOTTE LENNOX.

PREFACE

TO THE

FRENCH EDITION.

AS in the judgment of good critics and lovers of literature, THE MEMOIRS OF SULLY have been always ranked amongſt our beſt books, I have no need to enter here into a diſquiſition which will be of little uſe to thoſe who are acquainted with the work.

To give thoſe an idea of this performance who have never read it, it will be ſufficient to tell them, that it contains a hiſtory of whatever has paſſed from the peace in 1570, to the firſt year of Lewis XIII. during a ſpace of forty years, which is a time that has ſupplied the moſt copious ſubjects to the hiſtorians of France; and that it treats of the reign, or, to ſpeak more properly, almoſt of the whole life, of Henry the Great. They preſuppoſe, indeed, ſome knowledge of the foregoing commotions, which are only occaſionally mentioned; but it diſplays all the

ſucceeding events with the utmoſt particularity. The events are equally numerous and diverſified; wars, foreign and civil; intereſts of ſtate and religion; maſter-ſtrokes of policy; unexpected diſcoveries; ſtruggles of ambition; ſtratagems of policy; embaſſies and negociations; are all to be found in this book; and all this is far from the whole.

The Memoirs of Sully take their value, perhaps their greateſt value, from the innumerable recitals of a private kind, which ſcarcely belongs to the province of hiſtory; this is the particular advantage of memoirs, they admit all ſubjects, however numerous, and all incidents however various, which one can deſire to inſert; and they are not ſubject to the burthen impoſed upon hiſtory, of continuing the narrative through dry generalities, with which even the writer finds himſelf diſguſted.

To obtain a compleat knowledge of any prince, it is neceſſary that the picture of his private life be ſet to view, together with his public conduct; he muſt be ſhown with his courtiers and domeſtics, in thoſe moments when he is little obſerved: his character muſt be fixed by his letters and converſation; the paſſions are better diſplayed by a ſingle word, related as it was ſpoke, than by all the art which a hiſtorian can uſe. This idea of memoirs is quite anſwered by thoſe of Sully; ſo that no man, till he has peruſed them, can have

have a juſt conception of Henry IV. They repreſent to us that great prince, in his good as well as his bad fortune; now as a private man, now as a king, as a warrior, or as a politician; and to come ſtill lower, as a huſband, father, or friend; and all told in ſo affecting a manner, that the reader cannot refrain from taking part in the moſt minute and indifferent incident of his life: at moſt, I can only except ſome military recitals, which occur perhaps too often at the beginning of the work, and a ſmall number of other paſſages leſs pleaſing; though on the other hand, theſe recitals are always connected with the public affairs, and diverſified, like the reſt, with the part which was borne in them by the duke of Sully.

He is as the ſecond actor, and this double action makes no breach in the unity of intereſt, becauſe this miniſter ſays almoſt nothing of himſelf, which has not ſome relation to public affairs, or the perſon of his maſter. The reader will, doubtleſs, be pleaſed to know what judgement was formed of theſe Memoirs when they firſt appeared in the world, and I ſhall give him information from the author of an old diſcourſe, to be found among the MSS. * of the king's library: "One of the "moſt beautiful pictures of human prudence "and fidelity, ſays he, is to be found in the "account left to the public, in two volumes,

* Vol. 9590.

" by the dukes of Sully, of the nature of the " advice he had given, and the ſervices he " had done, to his king and benefactor, as " well for his particular and perſonal honour, " as for the proſperity of his kingdom. And, " in truth, the fortune of Henry the Great " and the virtue of his prime miniſter, are " two things which appear alternately, or, " more properly, go hand in hand. The mi- " niſter, in this work, ſerves and obliges the " king, in all the ways that a king can receive " ſervice or obligation from a ſubject, with " his hand, his courage, his ſword, and even " with his blood, or actions of bravery and " adventure, but particularly in his council " and cabinet, with the greateſt underſtand- " ing, and moſt quick-ſighted policy, the " moſt pure diſintereſtedneſs, and untainted " ſincerity, that has ever been known to hi- " ſtorians, either of our own or other coun- " tries."

It is natural, in the reign of a prince like Henry IV. to look for great generals, deep politicians, and ſkilful miniſters; but we are ſurprized to find in one man, the warrior, the politician, the wiſe manager of buſineſs, the ſteady and unbending friend, as well as the cloſe confidant and darling of his maſter. But what is yet more uncommon, is to ſee in a work where the actions of two ſuch extraordinary perſons are collected after their deaths, a great king forced to make a conqueſt of his

own

own kingdom, engaged with a minister, in his way, not less great, in contriving means to make his undertakings successful; labouring afterwards, in concert with him, to make his kingdom not only peaceable but flourishing, regulating the revenue, laying the foundation of trade, methodizing the government, and, in short, recovering every part of the establishment from confusion.

In this work therefore are comprized two lives united together, and illustrating and adorning one another, the lives of a king and a minister, his confidant nearly of the same age, carried on from the infancy of both to the death of the king, and to the retreat of the minister.

We may add, that these Memoirs of Sully are yet further valuable, by maxims of excellent morality, by politics derived from truth; by an infinite number of views, schemes, and regulations, of almost every kind, with which they are filled. The duke of Sully is said, by one of his cotemporaries, to have been the only man that ever discovered the means of uniting two things, which our fathers not only could not join together, but considered in their own nature inconsistent, the increase of the king's revenue, and the relief of the people. He that would have an idea of a good subject and an incorruptible minister, must look for it in this picture, where he will see œconomy in its full lustre, and policy in all its

practice; the art of using and of gaining power; the science of reigning as a man, and of reigning as a king; the finest instructions and most forceable examples of morality are here exhausted, and the whole supported and adorned by a knowledge of every thing, from the highest arts to the mechanic occupations.

However high this praise may seem, I do not find that the severest critics depart much from it; one need only consult the abbot Le-Laboureur, in his additions to the Memoirs of Castelnau, vol. II. book ii. p. 687. father Le Long, and a multitude of modern writers; for who is there that does not cite the Memoirs of Sully as the first political treatise that has shewn us the real power of this kingdom, and in which are contained the seeds of whatever has been done by Richelieu, Mazarine, and Colbert; and in which is opened the best school of the art of government?

I will now quit this consideration for another, which I neither can nor ought to conceal; the pleasure which so valuable a book affords, is attended with a degree of fatigue which makes this ornament of libraries useless to the greater part of readers.

This is to be imputed to want of method, and defects of style; the subjects lie here in great confusion; those who have ranged them propose to entertain us with particular recitals of military, political, and domestic affairs; but

but they neither know how to keep them apart, nor to join them properly: a fact is cleared up, or a narrative continued, at the diſtance, ſometimes, of an hundred pages; from the beginning of the firſt volume, one muſt often jump to the end of the ſecond: the letters of Henry, which ought to be regularly inſerted in the ſtory, are bundled up together and put by themſelves, or introduced where they only break the thread of the diſcourſe, to which very often they have no relation: the maxims of law and government are driven off to a diſtant part, where it is often difficult to meet with them; they have the appearance of an independent note, and one might have known, that the compilers were mere men of buſineſs, though they had not told it.

As to the diction, it is not going too far to ſay, that it has every fault which diction can admit; it is too much diffuſed, obſcured frequently by the enormous protraction of the ſentences, and frequently by the impropriety of the words, which are ſometimes creeping and low, and ſometimes ſwelled with ridiculous magnificence.

These two general reflections on the Memoirs of Sully, one ſhould have imagined might have put it into the thoughts of ſome of our beſt writers, to make that book agreeable, which is ſo intereſting and uſeful; the other, becauſe what they have good ariſes

from the ſubject, and what is wrong conſiſts only in the form in which they are ſhewn. It is allowed on all hands, that this muſt be excepted from the number of thoſe old books, which cannot be altered without being ſpoiled; but the danger of giving offence to the nicety of critics, has hitherto driven away all thoughts of ſuch an undertaking: and I confeſs that I could never have engaged in it, had I not been urged on by that fondneſs for the original, which brings the paſſions as well as the genius into a work, and makes us blind to all the obſtacles that may oppoſe us; for, to accommodate ſuch a work as this to the preſent taſte, a man muſt preſerve at once the fidelity of a tranſlator, and the liberty of a compoſer: he muſt carefully preſerve the ſenſe of his author, though he muſt abridge, tranſpoſe, and methodiſe his work.

An emendation, merely grammatical, which ſhould reach no farther than to change thoſe expreſſions, which are confeſſedly bad, and to retrench thoſe that are apparently ſuperfluous, would have been ſhort of the reformation which the ſtyle requires; and, if nothing had been attempted but to bring the ſcattered parts of the ſtory together, and methodiſe thoſe things that are out of order, to free the book from the inconvenience of confuſion, even this muſt have ended in the deſtruction of the text. I have tried every method that I could invent to avoid the neceſſity of taking the

the work wholly to pieces, and moulding it anew: but I saw, at last, that no other way would answer my intention: I was convinced that a style so faulty as that of these Memoirs, was far from deserving to be treated with the same respect as that of Comines, Montagne, and Amyot: that the mere general alterations, which are confessedly necessary, would change it so much from its present state, that to make it yet more different, was no great matter: and that these alterations, producing a necessity of connections and transitions, which would naturally be of a different cast of language from the rest, many patches of new style appearing in these pages of antiquity, would have been a disagreeable and dissimular mixture; and that the original must not only be cleared from a great number of odd expressions, but of unnatural and unusual ideas, which appears in the ridiculous singularity in the very title, Oeconomies Royales, & Servitudes Loyales: that such liberties as I have taken was necessary, in order to arrive at a just chronology and arrangement of matter: and that this liberty was consistent enough with the obligation of preserving the sense of the original, and suffering the Memoirs of Sully to lose nothing by being put into a new language.

In the first place, I found it indispensibly necessary to change this stated language of secretaries, who know nothing but to praise

and flatter. What can be more tedious than to see them, at every line, addressing their master to put him in mind of something that has already happened, and to confess that he understands the business better than themselves? This perpetual address made the book little more than a long dedication; and yet this could not have been corrected without giving the work a new form.

I MUST add, that the historical narrative, which allows only the third person to be used, could not take place here, as I immediately found, when I endeavoured to apply it: for the Memoirs of Sully, as I have already said, instead of one principal actor, present us with two, whose parts constantly intermingled in the recital, or who almost always make their appearance together, either talking between themselves or with other persons. The pronouns he and him, which in other histories supply so conveniently the place of proper names, must, in a book like this, have been applied sometimes to one, sometimes to another, which would have produced an obscurity not to have been avoided, but by repetitions and circumlocutions equally inconvenient. If to rid our hands of this difficulty, which will be generally perceived, this book had been entituled, Memoirs to contribute to a History of Henry IV. and the relation had been contracted to the actions of that prince, this had at once cut off half the Memoirs, and

and perhaps that half which can leaſt be ſpared; for the life and actions of Henry the Great are every where to be found; but thoſe of the duke of Sully can be read no where elſe: and it had been ſtill leſs proper to have mentioned only the action of the miniſter.

THERE remained therefore only one ſcheme to purſue, that of making Sully tell his own ſtory. I yielded with leſs reluctance to this neceſſity, as I found it likely to be the ſource of new pleaſure; for nothing is more proper to throw over a work thoſe intereſting paſſages, which put the heart into emotion, than to introduce the principal actor in a complicated affair, entertaining you with an account of the part which he acted; and what an actor would he appear if one could attain to make him ſpeak as ſuch a miniſter, ſo favoured by his maſter, and ſo reſpected by all the ranks of the community, might be ſuppoſed to ſpeak at the preſent time.

THIS ſingle motive might prevail upon the public to grant me the indulgence which I require, for the only real liberty I have taken, if it ſhould be found that I have, in other reſpects, diſcharged the duty which this licence made indiſpenſible; but, as I cannot aſſume ſo much to myſelf, I ſhall found my defence upon a matter of fact; which is, that, in reality, the duke of Sully himſelf is the true author of the Memoirs which bear his name; ſince the original pieces are his own, and his ſecre-

ſecretaries did nothing more than ſtitch them together. This is eaſily perceived in ſeveral places, where the pen of the miniſter being with-held, either by promiſe of ſecrecy or ſome conſideration equally ſtrong, you ſee the reader's expectation diſappointed with regard to facts of which the ſecretaries themſelves had apparently not the leaſt knowledge. This is therefore no robbery, but an honeſt reſtitution, which I make to their maſter of his own works. In atteſtation of this, I can produce all our writers, who ſhew evidently when they quote the Memoirs of Sully, that they conſider them as the work of that great man, and depend upon his authority. The ſingle doubt of Vittorio Siri * is of no weight againſt ſo much evidence.

THIS critical diſquiſition I do not think of ſufficient importance or amuſement, to require that I ſhould tranſcribe whole pages to eſtabliſh this truth, by exhibiting the words of Henry, Sully, or the ſecretaries themſelves: he that thinks it worth his while, may conſult the places marked in the margin †. I ſhall here offer only a conjecture, which I ſubmit to the diſcernment of my reader.

THE Memoirs of Sully were formed firſt upon the obſervations which M. de Roſny be-

* Mem. Rec. Vol. I. p. 29. † Epît. des 1, & 3 Tom. Tom. II. p. 407, 409, 410, 434, 435, 440, 448. Tom. III. p. 82, 83, 294, 385, &c. Tom. II. p. 440.

gan,

gan, from his earlieſt youth, to make upon the events of his times, as well thoſe that related to the public as thoſe that affected his maſter and himſelf. To theſe were added, in the next place, the obſervations which he ſet down at the entreaty of his prince, who ſoon began to diſtinguiſh a man of his character. M. de Roſny had plainly no intention to write a connected narrative, much leſs a formal hiſtory, but only a collection of pieces upon ſeveral events of his time, which he improved with his own reflections on government *. The term Journal, which is ſometimes uſed, is not to be taken in the ſtricteſt ſenſe: accounts conſiſting of pieces thus independent, were not things abſolutely new in his time. It is not unlikely that he conſidered himſelf as collecting materials for more regular memoirs, which he afterwards thought fit to communicate to the public, under the name of his ſecretaries, rather than his own.

THESE regiſters †, of which there has been already mention, were put into the hands of four of his ſecretaries, two of whom compoſed at firſt the two former volumes, ſuch as they now appear, the two other ſecretaries, who were taken into the ſervice of Sully at the time of his retreat, were buſy, at the ſame time, upon the firſt of his two following volumes,

* Tom. II. p. 448. Tom. III. p. 83, 385.
† Epît. Limin du Tom. III. Tom. II. p. 410.

which

which compriſes a ſpace of five years, from 1605 to the death of Henry IV and imagining their labour incomplete, unleſs they ſhould produce two volumes as well as their fellows, they fell to tumbling over all their maſter's papers, and at laſt attained their purpoſe. But notice muſt be taken, that they are not to be believed too eaſily with reſpect to the place where theſe Memoirs are ſaid to be printed; for they had an intereſt in impoſing upon the public, by making it be believed that theſe Memoirs were not printed in France *. Guy-Patin, father Le-Long, the abbé Lenglet, and ſeveral others, are confident that the two firſt volumes were printed at the caſtle of Sully; and for the two laſt, it is a known fact that their firſt appearance was in an edition printed at Paris 1662, by the care of the abbe Le-Laboureur.

In the Memoirs of Mademoiſelle mention is made of letters, and a great number of other original pieces, which the count de Bethune kept with great care, and ſhewed as a curioſity to thoſe that came to ſee him. Of theſe, part, at leaſt, may be thought the minutes of the duke of Sully. But, ſince none of theſe pieces are found in the vaſt collection of manuſcripts preſented by the count de Bethune, in 1664, to the late king, we may conclude that, after the publication of theſe Memoirs,

* Epît. Limin, ib.

thoſe

thoſe minutes were deſtroyed as of no farther uſe: but, for my part, I make ſo little reckoning of the works of the compilers, that I could wiſh to have only the originals as they had them; for what they have given us of their own makes no eſſential addition, nor has any conſequence but that of concealing the true work of Sully, which, in many places, cannot be diſtinguiſhed or diſintangled from theirs; for they did not content themſelves with ranging their pieces according to the order of time, which was the beſt thing they were capable of doing.

I know not whether there is not even room to ſuſpect them of having ſuppreſſed ſome pieces of conſiderable importance. One may ſafely charge them, at leaſt, with having deſtroyed The Treatiſe of War, The Marechal de Camp, The Inſtructions Military and Political, and ſome other works of the duke of Sully, which have certainly been once in exiſtence. They have been fought to no purpoſe in the cloſet of the preſent duke of Sully *, notwithſtanding the pains which he, who is ſo well known for his love of literature and antiquities, has taken to recover monuments which contribute ſo much to the honour of his family. He has little more than ſome accounts and Memoirs relating to the different employments of Maximilian duke of Sully, of which the ſubſtance is found in this book.

* Louis-Pierre-Maximilian de Bethune.

The

The only manuſcripts that raiſe much curioſity, are the original copy of the firſt volume of the Memoirs of Sully, from which the impreſſion was certainly taken; and the two laſt volumes of a kind of heroic romance, of which the two firſt have been loſt. Theſe adventures, or allegorical hiſtories of that age, are entituled, Gelaſtide, ou les Illuſtres princeſſes pucelles du puiſſant Empire de la grande Sclaramane Doloſophomorie, les Sclarazones diamantées, Percy de Rubicelle & Pyrope; titles as ſingular as thoſe of the Memoirs of Sully, and which ſhew that they are drawn up by the ſame hand.

It is poſſible that the loſs of theſe originals is imputed to Sully himſelf, ſince his ſecretaries acted not only under his orders, but under his own eyes *. In that caſe we ſhall be forced to confeſs, that a little vanity, from which this miniſter was not free, kept him from ſuffering his Memoirs to appear in his own name: he perceived that he could not forbear to give himſelf the honour of the brighteſt part of the reign of Henry IV. and, not caring either to praiſe himſelf or to loſe the praiſe he had deſerved, he determined to have that ſaid by others which he could not modeſtly ſay himſelf.

He is charged with another fault proceeding equally from vanity, but which, if we

* Tom. III. p. 83 and 294.

examine

examine it well, may appear very innocent; it is the freedom with which he acts and speaks. Let us hear, on this head, our ancient dissertator. "This stiff and haughty "humour, says he, which so often obliges "his prince to speak first, and to open "himself to him, if it had been softened "and made more easy, would have been "perhaps more perfect, and more deserving "of imitation; but, if the original was as "it is represented, and nature had formed it "of this cast, it ought not to be flattered or "disguised: if this gravity and general circumspection, which his enemies mention "as a reproach to his memory, was the very "quality which gave so much value to his "ministry and his credit, we ought not to "regret it in him as a blot, or condemn it as "a defect." And indeed, if a minister is of known honesty, and unsuspected of any bad design, why should he, in speaking to his master, or transacting with him, recede from the privilege of following the severe dictates of truth? Without this liberty the condition of private men would be much happier than that of princes; but we may sufficiently prove, that Sully deserves no reproach of this kind, by observing that he never received any from his master, who not only allowed, but loved and praised his freedom of speech. Whatever may be said, for instance, of the famous promise of marriage which Sully tore

in

in pieces in the hands of Henry, I ſee nothing in that affair which does not deſerve admiration, and there is no fear that it ſhall be drawn into precedent.

The neceſſity of being beforehand with the reader, for my own ſake, has given occaſion to theſe two remarks. I have conſidered it as indecent in Sully to relate all that happened of this kind with Henry IV. and as to perſonal commendations, I cut off what was uttered by ſecretaries, and could never have been ſaid by him, and keep all that he has ſaid, or ſuffered others to ſay to him, that was for his own honour, or for that of the family of Bethune. In like manner I let all ſtand which the ſame vanity, joined with his religious prejudices, diſpoſed him to advance with relation to the greateſt families; ſuch as the houſe of Auſtria, among others, or concerning private perſons, to whom he has not always done juſtice; ſuch as the dukes de Nevers and de Epernon, meſſieurs de Villeroi, Jeannin, and the cardinal de Oſſat, and others, amongſt the Roman catholics; and the dukes de Rohan, de Bouillon, and de La-Trémouille, Du-Pleſſis Mornay; and, to conclude, with reſpect to a ſociety deſerving eſteem, for purity of manners, and the ſervice it has done the public, by the education of youth, and the advancement of polite literature.

If I ſtop at this head, it is only to ſhew how

how much I deteſt every ſpecies of prejudice; for otherwiſe I know well enough that I ſhall never be called to account about it: it was my duty to preſerve the ground-work of the original inviolate; and as the original, which I am far from ſuppoſing that my work will put out of the world, muſt always remain in its true ſtate, it would appear againſt me, if I ſhould dare to alter it, and furniſh an accuſation againſt me of diſhoneſty and flattery: all that I have been able to do, and I proteſt I have done it only out of regard to juſtice, is to ſhew my diſlike by frequent corrections, from which alone the public is to judge of my real ſentiments.

It appears indeed to me, that a ſingle word is ſufficient to put an end to the greateſt part of the imputation thrown upon the jeſuits and other good catholics by the duke of Sully: we muſt conſider that they acted upon one principle, and he judged of their actions upon another. It may be added, that in the circumſtances of thoſe things, during the tranſaction, it was difficult to paſs a right judgement upon the meaſures of the different parties: at preſent, ſince time has given new light to their cauſes, motives, and means, we, who are neither carried away by the heat of action, nor overpowered by fear, hope, or deſire, have, with reſpect to the ſubject on which we are treating, two opinions almoſt oppoſite; we deteſt the league, and have great

great reaſon to deteſt it; but, on the other hand, we judge, and not without probability, that, if the league had not been, France was in danger of ſuffering the greateſt of all evils, the loſs of the true religion. If Villeroi, D'Oſſat, and others, ſtand in need of defence, it is on this principle, That they muſt be defended.

A MOTIVE of the ſame kind determined me likewiſe to write notes upon paſſages where Sully ſpeaks unfavourably of the Spaniards, the Engliſh, and other kingdoms in our neighbourhood. I am as far from applauding his prejudices as eſpouſing his quarrels. To ſee nothing in other nations worthy of praiſe, is to be blind; to ſee it, and not own it, is to be weak.

ANOTHER article, which appears to me of yet greater importance than all theſe, is, the liberty with which the author ſometimes diſcovers his particular principles, with reſpect to the very ſubſtance of religion. It is natural to imagine, that a man full of knowledge, of reflection, and of good qualities, muſt have been very dangerous when he was led to ſpeak of the reformed religion, which it is known that the duke of Sully always remained a firm adherent to. Such was my notion of the matter; but the firſt peruſal of his Memoirs altered my opinion. I will quote, upon this occaſion, for the laſt time, the writer whoſe teſtimony I have ſo often made uſe of,

of, to ſhew that theſe Memoirs cannot make, at this time, theſe impreſſions which they were unable to make when they were new. "It is not, ſays the author, upon account "of his religious opinions, that he is to be "conſidered as a model, or as an original; "we are too look into theſe Memoirs for a "general, a grand maſter of the ordnance, "a ſuper-intendant of the finances, and a mi-"niſter of an univerſal genius, concurring in "all the ſchemes of his prince; but you are "not here to expect a picture of a chriſtian, "and much leſs of a catholic.—Theſe books," ſays the ſame writer, in another place, "do "not ſhew him properly pious or religious, "becauſe they do not ſhew him a catholic."

THE author might have added another reaſon of yet greater force, which is, that when Sully repreſents himſelf either as a reformed, or catholic, that man, whoſe reaſonings upon almoſt every other ſubject is ſolid and concluſive, appears ſo wretched as a divine, that the mere compariſon of his writings with themſelves is ſufficient to confute him; beſides, how many confeſſions are drawn from him by the force of truth? how much does he ſay againſt the mad determination of ſome proteſtant ſynods, againſt the intrigues and bad deſigns of the chief of that party; againſt the mutinous and ſeditious temper of the whole body? It is ſomething ſo ſingular, to ſee the duke of Sully by turns a Calviniſt,

and an enemy to Calviniſts, that I thought it neceſſary to preſerve whatever he has ſaid on the ſubject of religion, leſt what I had ſuppreſſed had been thought of more importance than it really is. But I thought it neceſſary to be likewiſe liberal of my notes, in oppoſition to thoſe paſſages, and perhaps under the notion, that I could never be careful enough of weak minds, I may, without thinking of it, have ſhewn ſome regard to my firſt ſcruples.

The notes have been conſiderably multiplied by another conſideration. As I was deſirous to make this work more clear and compleat, I have ſhewn the ſame regard to things of mere entertainment as for thoſe of neceſſity. I could not prevail upon myſelf to ſkip over a fact obſcure or but ſlightly touched, without clearing it up and explaining it.

In one place, therefore, you will find a paſſage of pure amuſement producing another of the ſame kind; in another place, a perſon of note is mentioned only by his name, and I have thought it neceſſary to add his chriſtian or ſurname, his dignities or employments, and ſometimes the year of his birth or his death. There are notes likewiſe, in which I have endeavoured to rectify falſe calculations and miſtaken dates, and to adjuſt the valuation of coins; and on all theſe occaſions, I have endeavoured to copy only from our beſt writers, and to draw immediately from the

foun-

fountain-head; thus the Memoirs of the League, d'Etoile and de Nevers; les Chronologies Novennaire et Septennaire of Cayet, and the Mercure François; meſſieurs de Thou, Péréfixe, Matthieu, Davila, Le-Grain, D'Aubigné; the manuſcripts of the king's library, the Letters of the cardinal D'Oſſat *, &c. are my vouchers for facts: and for all the reſt, my credit depends upon the books which have furniſhed the aſſiſtance that I happened to want. I have commonly contented myſelf with giving their words upon the ſubject before me, without entering into any diſquiſitions, except when contrariety of opinions ſeemed to require it. But notwithſtanding this precaution, the margin of the five or ſix firſt books are ſomewhat crouded; nor was it in my power to do otherwiſe, the firſt years of Henry IV. affording a prodigious number of facts of every ſort, which Sully has only hinted at, or mentioned very ſlightly.

To theſe might very properly have been added, notes upon politics, war, the finances, government, and naval affairs; and I could not, but in compliance with my inclination, ſcatter a few upon the laſt books particularly, of which the ſubject made them often uſeful, and ſometimes abſolutely neceſſary.

As to maxims and reflections, the only uſe that could properly have been made of them,

* For theſe letters I conſulted the old folio edition, as alſo the old edition of L'Etoile's Memoirs.

was to ſcatter them here and there in the places where they have relation. With reſpect to another part of this work, I have taken a contrary method; I have brought together all that was ſaid in different places upon the great and famous deſign of Henry IV. which ſeems often to break the narration in an unpleaſant manner; and finding no place where a recital of ſo many particulars could be inſerted, I made a book of it by itſelf. I may be ſuſpected, upon theſe laſt heads, of having made great additions to my original; but let the reader ſuſpend his judgment till he has read it from beginning to end. I am well aware, that the neceſſity of arranging theſe materials in a different order, has given this work a kind of original air, which diſtinguiſhes it from common tranſlations, without giving the rank of a work of invention. There are many other places where it will be ſeen, that if I had thought myſelf entitled to an abſolute authority over my original, I ſhould often have given it another caſt. As to references, it was not poſſible to put them all in the margin, and they would have only tired the reader.

THE letters, which are ſcattered here and there, I could only have made uſeful, by caſting them into a narrative, and joining them with the facts to which they relate: by this means, I have contrived to diverſify my hiſtory, and have made the letters more uſeful than they

they were before. It is common for thoſe who write on things talked of by them before, to mention them imperfectly; theſe omiſſions I commonly ſupplied with a note, when the matter is ſuch as can be diſcovered, or deſerves explanation; for of this prodigious number of letters, either of the king's or Sully's, the greater part only contains particulars of ſmall importance: all theſe I conſider as uſeleſs, and retrench them either wholly or in part; and I take the ſame courſe with the recitals that are too long, with trifling remarks, with diffuſe memorials and regulations of the finances, drawn out in particularities: but when I find letters, converſations, or other pieces, truly original, I copy them faithfully, except when I meet with a word that would offend the ear, I change it to another: this I intend for the gratification of thoſe readers who would complain, if in theſe ancient Memoirs, the perſonages that are introduced ſhould talk always like men of our own time, and judge of the pleaſure they muſt receive from the ſingularity of the ancient language, by that which it gives to myſelf.

I HAVE followed the uſual method, of dividing an hiſtorical work into books, rather than into chapters; there are here thirty books, reckoning the account of Henry's great project for one of them. Some were of opinion, that this project, having never been executed, might have been omitted;

but it ſeemed to me to make ſo conſiderable a part of Sully's Memoirs, that the public were likely to be offended with its ſuppreſſion.

I THOUGHT it not for my purpoſe to proceed farther than the retreat of Sully, in which I have ventured to differ from my original: but beſides, that, according to my ſcheme, I ſaw no uſe to be made of the pieces which had no relation either to Sully or Henry IV. I thought, judging of theſe pieces critically, that they did not deſerve much attention from mankind. I find nothing in the fourth volume which can truly be called the work of the duke of Sully, more than what he ſays of the new court, of the council, and of himſelf, to his departure from Paris; together with the regulations that he had formed for different purpoſes, and the evidence he gives of the great deſign of Henry IV. As to the furious invective againſt Villeroi, and the other pieces belonging to the reign of Lewis XIII. and, in a word, whatever is contained in the two hundred laſt pages of the fourth volume, the whole is apparently of another hand; ſo immethodical, ſo unconnected, and at the ſame time ſo trifling and ſo dull, that I could look upon it only as a thing compiled by one of his ſecretaries, without judgment, and for this only purpoſe, as themſelves confeſs, that the laſt volume might be as large as the former *; all this is to be

* Epît. Limin. du Tom. III.

ranked

ranked with the panegyrics, ſonnets, and other pieces, both in French and Latin; which the reader, if ſuch things happen to pleaſe him, may look for in the original.

As we cannot learn from theſe Memoirs what became of the duke of Sully from his retreat to his death, and as the reader may be curious about him, I have given him a Supplement. Nothing of the lives of great men ſhould be loſt or neglected; this Supplement is more full and intereſting than I at firſt could promiſe myſelf, by means of the information with which the duke of Sully has been pleaſed to ſupply me.

I MAKE uſe, as I have already ſaid, of the edition in folio; it is properly in four volumes, though in ſome libraries it is bound in two: the firſt and ſecond of theſe volumes, printed at Amſterdam, that is to ſay, at Sully, without the date of the year or the printer, for that which appears at its head is counterfeit: this is commonly called the green-lettered edition, on account of its VVV, and its front-piece coloured with green. The third and fourth volumes, printed at Paris by permiſſion, by Auguſtin Courbé, in 1662, this edition is incorrect, but ſome of the others are mutilated, which is worſe. I ſhall here enumerate the ſubſequent editions; the two firſt volumes were reprinted at Rouen, 1649, in two volumes in folio; in a ſmaller letter, at Amſterdam, 1654, in four volumes

12°. At Paris, 1664, by Courbé, in two volumes in folio. The third and fourth volumes were reprinted at Paris, 1663, in eight volumes 12°; and at the same time at Rouen, in seven volumes 12°. The last edition is that of Trevoux, in 1725, in twelve volumes 12°.

What I have here to add is to assure the public, that I respect it too much to expose myself to its censure, by any faults that labour and attention could enable me to avoid; and as for any others, as they may serve, if not to correct my work, at least to mend myself for the future, I am so far from endeavouring to obviate them, that I entreat the world not to spare them; they shall never find me claiming the indulgence naturally due to the first attempt, nor do I plead my situation in excuse; though my situation was so little propitious to this kind of labour, that I should have seen myself obliged to throw it up, had I not been assisted by persons whose generosity was equal to their zeal for the advancement of learning. This confession is due to truth. I should likewise be guilty of extreme ingratitude, if I omitted to make it known, that a man of character, who had been intimately acquainted with the two late dukes of Sully, not only gave me the first notion of this work, but assisted me likewise to form the plan, and promoted the execution by all the means which his friendship or generosity could dictate.

A SUM-

A

SUMMARY

OF THE

BOOKS contained in the FIRST VOLUME.

SUMMARY of the FIRST BOOK.

MEMOIRS from the year 1570 to 1580. State of affairs in the council of France, and thoſe of the calviniſts, at the peace of 1570. Roſny's extraction, and anecdotes of the houſe of Bethune. Some account of the birth, education, and early years, of the prince of Navarre. Idea of the government under Henry II. Francis II. and during the firſt years of the reign of Charles IX. Artifice of queen Catherine of Medicis to ruin the huguenots. Roſny engages himſelf in the ſervice of the king of Navarre, and follows him to Paris. Death of the queen of Navarre. The wounding of admiral Coligny, and other cauſes of ſuſpicion, which the court gave to the proteſtants. Profound diſſimulation of Charles IX. Maſſacre of St. Bartholomew; a particular relation of this event. Obſervations and reflections upon it. The conduct of Charles IX. and admiral Coligny. In what manner the king of Navarre and Roſny eſcaped being maſſacred.

Edu-

Education of Rosny. The calvinists resume courage, and retrieve their affairs. Flight of the prince of Condé. Imprisonment of the princes. The insurrection of Shrove Tuesday. Death of Charles IX. His character. Henry III. returns to France, and declares war against the huguenots. Flight of Monsieur and the king of Navarre. The queen-mother deceives them by the peace called the Peace of Monsieur. The war is renewed. Military rencounters, and taking of cities. Rosny's first exploits in arms. The peace of 1577. Conferences between the queen-mother and the king of Navarre. More military expeditions. Taking of Cahors, &c. Faults committed by Rosny.

SUMMARY of the SECOND BOOK.

MEMOIRS from the year 1580 to the year 1587. Affairs of Flanders. The United Provinces offer their crown to Monsieur: he goes to Holland; Rosny attends him. The taking of Château-Cambresis, &c. Monsieur surprises the citadel of Cambrai: he goes to England; returns to France; is hated by the Dutch and the protestants on account of the treachery attempted by him at Antwerp; disconcerted by the prince of Orange. Rosny dissatisfied with Monsieur, who, finding all his schemes blasted, returns to France. Rosny returns likewise, after having visited the city of Bethune. Spain makes offers to the king of Navarre. Rosny sent to the court of France by the king of Navarre: he visits Monsieur. Death of that prince. Rosny's second journey to Paris, and negotiation there: his marriage. Domestic employments. Origin, formation, and progress, of the League. Henry III. joins the League against the king of Navarre. Divisions in the calvinist party; the views of its chiefs. Rosny is again sent to Paris by the king of Navarre,

to

to obſerve the motions of the League. An attempt upon Angers; fails. A dangerous journey taken by Roſny. The prince of Condé in extream peril. The king of Navarre in great perplexities. Military expeditions. Roſny negotiates an alliance between the two kings. The taking of Talmont, Fontenay, &c. Roſny goes to viſit and aſſiſt his wife during the calamity of the plague. Fruitleſs interviews between the queen-mother and the king of Navarre. A ſeries of military expeditions. Roſny defeats one of the enemies ſquadrons. Other ſucceſſes of the calviniſts; a declared perſecution againſt them. Madame de Roſny in great danger. Roſny's ſecret journey to Paris. The duke of Joyeuſe leads an army into Poitou, and is beat by the king of Navarre at Coutras; a particular account of this battle.

SUMMARY of the THIRD BOOK.

MEMOIRS from the year 1587 to the year 1590. Errors committed by the king of Navarre and the proteſtants, after the battle of Coutras. Secret deſigns of the prince of Condé, the count of Soiſſons, and the viſcount Turenne. Death of the prince of Condé; obſervations upon his death. The battle of the Barricades, and the conſequences; reflections upon this event. The duke and cardinal of Guiſe aſſaſſinated; reflections and obſervations on this occaſion. Death of Catherine de Medicis. The puſillanimity of Henry III. with reſpect to the League. Roſny negotiates a treaty of alliance between the two kings; the diſguſt he receives upon this occaſion. Interview of the two kings. The duke of Maïenne ſits down before Tours; military exploits on both ſides. Battle of Foſſeuſe, at which Roſny is preſent. Death of madame de Roſny. Military ſucceſſes of the two kings. Siege of Paris. Death of Henry III. particulars of this aſſaſſination. Henry IV.

aſks

asks counsel of Rosny; the perplexing situation of this prince. The dispositions of the several officers in the royalist army with respect to him. Rosny surprises Meulan. Military expeditions. A particular account of the battle of Arques, at which Rosny was present. Skirmishes at Pollet. Henry IV. often in danger. An attempt upon Paris. Rencounters and sieges of different places. Digressions upon those Memoirs. Siege of Meulan. A Spanish army in France. Rosny defends Passi. The battle of Ivry; particulars of this battle. Rosny often in great danger; is wounded in several places; he is carried by his own orders to Rosny. Henry IV's affectionate behaviour to him there.

SUMMARY of the FOURTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS from 1590 to 1592. A mutiny in Henry's army after the battle of Ivry; dissipation of the finances, and other causes of the little advantages he derived from it. Cities taken. Attempts on others; disappointed. The taking of the suburbs of Paris; the siege of this city; particulars relating to this siege; the causes which obliged Henry to raise it. The prince of Parma leads an army thither; his encampment, and other military details. An error committed by Henry: he obliges the Prince of Parma to retire. The siege of Chartres. An adventure wherein Rosny is in danger of being killed: he retires to Rosny in discontent. Success of Henry IV's arms. The taking of Corbie, Noyon, &c. An enterprise upon Mante. The duke of Montpensier's expeditions in Normandy. Preparations for the siege of Rouen; errrors committed at this siege. Mutual animosities between the soldiers and officers of Henry's army. Attacks, assaults, and other particulars of this siege. The prince of Parma

ma comes again with an army into France. The insolence of the council of sixteen. Henry advances to meet the prince of Parma. An enterprise boldly seconded by the duke of Nevers. The battle of Aumale; particulars of this battle, and observations upon it. Henry raises the siege of Rouen: marches, encampments, rencounters, and battles, betwixt him and the prince of Parma, in the neighbourhood of Rouen. Observations upon these battles. A glorious exploit of the prince of Parma at the passage of the Seine. Henry's army refuses to pursue him; the causes of this refusal; and reflections upon it.

SUMMARY of the FIFTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS from 1592---1593. A succinct account of the state of affairs in the provinces of France during the years 1591 and 1592. Intrigues carried on by the count of Soissons: his character. An abridgment of the duke of Epernon's history: his disobedience; his character. Several parties formed in the southern provinces of France: a short account of what passed there. The siege of Villemur. The siege of Epernai, where marshal Biron is slain: his eulogium. Death of the prince of Parma. Rosny marries again, and retires in discontent. The cause of it. He intercepts the memoirs of the negotiations between Spain and the League. A detail and examen of those papers. A third party formed in France: the persons who compose it; and their views. Henry follows Rosny's advice. The wise and cautious conduct observed by them both. Conversations betwixt them, wherein Rosny prevails upon him to change his religion. Henry sounds the protestants upon this resolution. Rosny's conference with Bellozanne, the two Durets, and Du-Perron. Conditions offered by the League to Henry; with what designs; rejected. The meeting of the states

of Paris. A project of the prince of Parma's badly executed. Disunion of the catholic chiefs in these states: their intrigues and artifices to supplant each other. The parliament of Paris publishes an arret. The zeal of its members for the honour of the crown. The truce. The great wisdom and ability of Henry in profiting of the dissensions among the chiefs of the League. Conduct of Villeroi and Jeannin. Rosny gives the king very prudent advice. The siege of Dreux; taken by Rosny's means. Henry removes all obstacles to his conversion. Particulars relating to his abjuration.

MEMOIRS

A New and
Accurate MAP of
FRANCE
for
Sully's Memoirs.
Drawn from the best
Authorities.
By T. Kitchin Geog.r
ENGLAND
THE ENGLISH CHANNEL
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BAY OF BISCAY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SPAIN
GERMANY
SWITZERLAND
ITALY
Geneva
Lake of Geneva
Paris
Lyon
Marseilles
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Nantes
Rouen
Orleans
Dijon
Metz
Strasburg
Calais
Dover
Brest
Perpignan
Montpellier
Avignon
Grenoble
Turin
Nice
Corsica
Sardinia
Majorca
Minorca
Ivica
Guernsey I.
Jersey I.
Alderney I.
Belle Isle
Noirmoutier I.
Re I.
Oleron I.
Wight I.
Scilly Is.
Lizard Pt.
Land's End
Start Pt.
Portland
Exeter
Plymouth
Falmouth
Dunkirk
Boulogne
Havre de Grace
Cherbourg
Caen
Dieppe
Abbeville
Amiens
Arras
Lille
Valenciennes
Cambray
Rheims
Sedan
Metz
Nancy
Besançon
Basle
Lyons
Grenoble
Montpellier
Nismes
Arles
Aix
Toulon
Antibes
Nice
Bayonne
Biarritz
Pau
Tarbes
Perpignan
Narbonne
Carcassonne
Toulouse
Montauban
Agen
Bordeaux
Rochelle
Nantes
Rennes
Brest
Quimper
Morlaix
St. Malo
Cherbourg
Le Mans
Tours
Orleans
Bourges
Nevers
Moulins
Clermont
Limoges
Poitiers
Angers
Blois
Chartres
Fontainebleau
Melun
Meaux
Paris
Versailles
Rouen
Evreux
Alençon
Caen
Bayeux
Coutances
Avranches
Dinan
Guingamp
Lannion
Morlaix
Quimper
Lorient
Vannes
Auray
Quiberon
Belle Isle
Noirmoutier I.
Re I.
Oleron I.
Rochefort
La Rochelle
Niort
Fontenay
Luçon
Sables d'Olonne
Bay of Biscay
Gulf of Lions
Mouth of the Rhone
Mouth of the Garonne
Mouth of the Loire
Mouth of the Seine
Mouth of the Somme
Mouth of the Vilaine
Mouth of the Charente
Mouth of the Adour
Mouth of the Aude
Mouth of the Var
Mouth of the Po
Mouth of the Arno
Mouth of the Tiber
Mouth of the Ebro
Mouth of the Tagus
Mouth of the Guadiana
Mouth of the Douro
Mouth of the Minho
Mouth of the Mondego
Mouth of the Guadalquivir
Mouth of the Guadalete
Mouth of the Segre
Mouth of the Llobregat
Mouth of the Ter
Mouth of the Tech
Mouth of the Gave de Pau
Mouth of the Gave d'Oloron
Mouth of the Gave de Mauleon
Mouth of the Gave de Bayonne
Mouth of the Gave de Biarritz
Mouth of the Gave de Pau
Mouth of the Gave d'Oloron
Mouth of the Gave de Mauleon
Mouth of the Gave de Bayonne
Mouth of the Gave de Biarritz
British Statute Miles 69 to a Degree
German Miles 15 to a Degree
Leagues of France 25 to a Degree

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK I.

THEY flattered themſelves at the court of Charles IX. that the miſeries which befel the proteſtants under the preceding reigns, would at laſt oblige them either to ſubmit to the king's will, or to leave the kingdom. The death of the prince of Condé *, their leader, the loſs of two great battles †, the utter diſperſion of their ſoldiers, and the little probability of their being able to re-animate the feeble remainder of their troops, diſcouraged by a long train of misfortunes, all contributed to perſuade them, that the moment of their ruin approached ‡. A courage ſuperior to all events, ſupported them in circumſtances ſo diſtreſsful: they

* Lewis the firſt, prince of Condé, brother of Antony king of Navarre, and ſon of Charles of Bourbon, duke of Vendome. He was taken priſoner at the battle of Jarnac, in the year 1569, and murdered by a piſtol-ſhot in the back part of his head, by the baron de Monteſquiou. This gentleman being captain of the guards to the duke of Anjou, that prince was accuſed of having commanded him to aſſaſſinate the prince of Condé.

† Jarnac and Monçontour.

‡ The reader muſt not forget, that it is a proteſtant who ſpeaks in theſe memoirs: the condition in which religion and politics are at preſent in France, leaves no room to apprehend any bad conſequences to either from what Monſieur de Sully can ſay in favour of the pretended reformed religion. One may even, from the author's own words in ſeveral places, draw very ſtrong arguments for the unity of religion in a kingdom, and the advantage the catholic religion has over the proteſtant. See what is ſaid on this ſubject in the preface to this work.

recalled their ſoldiers, who were ſcattered throughout the provinces; and who now began to draw together from Burgundy, Bourbon, and Berry. La Charité was named for the place of their general rendezvous; Vezelai, and ſome other towns, ſtill holding out for them in that neighbourhood. They had even the boldneſs to promiſe themſelves, they ſhould ſpread the alarm as far as Paris, as ſoon as they were reinforced by ſome conſiderable ſupplies of horſe and foot, that they expected from Germany.

THIS news gave great uneaſineſs to the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis; but ſhe flattered herſelf, that it would not be difficult to hinder their junction, and afterwards to diſperſe the troops, which ſhe ſuppoſed would be by that means thrown into a conſternation. For this purpoſe ſhe ordered a powerful army to march. Strozzy †, La Chatre, Tavannes, La Valette, and all the general officers in France, were deſirous of ſerving in it; and the marechal de Coſſé ‡, who was to have the ſupreme command, ſuffered himſelf to be intoxicated with the glory he ſhould acquire, by extirpating even the laſt huguenot ſoldier, and bringing the chiefs of the party bound hand and foot to the queen-mother: but he was ſoon undeceived: the proteſtant army received

† Philip Strozzy, lord of Epernay, ſon of Peter Strozzy, marechal of France. Claude de la Chatre, afterwards marechal of France. John de Nogaret, father of the duke d'Epernon. Gaſpard de Saulx de Tavannes, who was alſo marechal of France; he had been page to Francis I. and was at that time one of the counſellors and confidents of Catherine de Medicis. His character may be known by the following traits, which I ſhall copy from the author of the Henriade in his notes, p. 34. "In the night of St. Bartholomew," ſays he, "he ran through the ſtreets of Paris, crying, Let blood, let blood; bleeding is as good in the month of Auguſt as in May. His ſon, who has written his memoirs, relates, that his father being upon his death-bed, made a general confeſſion of the ſins of his life; after which his confeſſor ſaying to him, with an air of aſtoniſhment, Why! you ſpeak not a word of St. Bartholomew. I look upon that, replied the marechal, as a meritorious action, which ought to atone for all the ſins I have ever committed."

‡ Artus de Coſſé, lord of Gonnor, who died in 1582.

him

him with great intrepidity; they were always the firſt to offer battle; in the ſkirmiſhes, which were frequent, the advantage was wholly on their ſide; and they even carried away a kind of victory at the encounter of Arnai-le-duc *. So much obſtinacy convinced the queen-mother, that to ruin the proteſtant party it would be neceſſary to have recourſe to other meaſures than war. Treachery ſeemed to her the ſecureſt; and, in order to gain time to prepare for it, ſhe liſtened ſo favourably to propoſals for an accommodation, that a peace was concluded when it was leaſt expected, and upon conditions very advantageous for the huguenots. This was the peace † of 1570. After which, during the ſpace of two years, each party taſted the ſweets of a repoſe, that had been equally deſired by both.

* It was expected from appearances, that the marechal de Coſſé would beat the huguenot army, or at leaſt prevent it from approaching Paris: neither the one nor the other he performed; on the contrary, he was obliged to retreat, after a very ſmart encounter, and from thenceforward contented himſelf with watching the motions of the enemy. In this engagement the calviniſts were commanded by the prince of Navarre and the prince of Condé his couſin-german, the one ſixteen, the other ſeventeen years of age, and by the admiral de Coligny. Peter Matthieu, the hiſtorian, relates theſe words of Henry IV. after he had aſcended the throne: ſpeaking of this encounter of Arnai-le-duc, "My firſt exploits in arms, ſaid this prince, were at "Arnai-le-duc, where the queſtion was, whether I ſhould fight or "retire. I had no retreat nearer than forty miles from thence, and "if I ſtaid, I muſt certainly lie at the mercy of the country people. "By fighting, I ran the riſk of being taken or ſlain, for I had no "cannon, and the king's forces had: and a gentleman was killed "not ten paces diſtant from me with a cannon ſhot: but recommending the ſucceſs of this day to God, it pleaſed him to make it "favourable and happy." Vol. I. book v. p. 327. In this ſame year the huguenots gained the battle of Luçon, and took Marennes, the iſle of Oleron, Brouage, Xaintes, &c.

† By this treaty of peace, many privileges, of which they had been deprived, were reſtored to them, the number of their churches were augmented, and four cities were given them for ſecurity, La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité. This peace was ſigned the 11th of Auguſt, and was called the lame and ill-founded peace, becauſe it was concluded in the name of the king by Biron, who was lame, and by N. de Meſmes, lord of Malaſſize, which in French ſignifies ill founded.

My father ‡ retired to his houſe at Roſny, and employed himſelf in ſettling his domeſtic affairs. As it is the hiſtory of my own life, jointly with that of the prince whom I ſerved, that will make the ſubject of theſe memoirs, 'tis neceſſary that I ſhould give ſome account of my family and perſon. By ſatisfying the curioſity of the public in theſe particulars, I muſt intreat, that neither vanity nor affectation be imputed to me, ſince a ſtrict regard to truth is my only inducement for relating whatever may appear advantageous for me, either here, or in the ſucceeding parts of theſe Memoirs.

Maximilian is my baptiſmal name, and Bethune that of my family §, which derives its origin, by the houſe of Coucy, from the ancient houſe of Auſtria: we muſt not, however, confound it with that which is at preſent in poſſeſſion of the empire of Germany, and the two Spains. This laſt is deſcended only from the counts of Habſbourg and Quibourg ‖, private gentlemen, who three hundred years ſince were

‡ Francis de Bethune, Baron de Roſny, who died in the ye r 1575. His firſt wife was Charlotte Dauvet, daughter of Robert Dauvet, lord de Rieux, preſident of the chamber of accounts, and of Anne Briçonnet; by whom he had children, whoſe names will be mentioned hereafter. His ſecond wife was Margaret de Louvigny, who brought him no iſſue.

§ Theſe particulars relating to the houſe of Bethune, are drawn from the body of the ancient memoirs of Sully, and the pieces joined to them; but it will be ſafeſt to rely on the beſt modern genealogiſts, whoſe opinions we ſhall mention hereafter.

‖ It was long believed, that the houſe of Auſtria was deſcended from the counts of Habſbourgh, or Thierſtein. The writings of the abbey de Mure, or Muri, in Switzerland, carelefly conſulted by Theodore Godefroy, and upon his word adopted by the beſt criticks, and even by father Le Long, have given riſe to this error; but by theſe writings better examined, by the charters of the monaſtery of St. Trutpert, and other acts, it appears, that this houſe is originally from Briſgaw, that it is deſcended from the ancient counts of Alſace, and goes back, by Luitfrid, Rampert, Otpert, &c. counts of Habſbourgh and landgraves of Alſace, not only to Gontran the rich, count of Altembourgh, who lived in the beginning of the tenth century, but even to Adelric or Ethic the firſt, called duke of Germany, eighteenth anceſtor of Raoul or Rodolph the firſt, to the middle of the ſeventh century. This ſeems to be ſufficiently well eſtabliſhed by the

in the pay of the cities of Straſbourg, Baſil, and Zurich, and who would have thought themſelves highly honoured by being ſtewards of the houſhold to ſuch a prince as the king of France; ſince Raoul, chief of this ſecond houſe of Auſtria, held a like employment under Ottocar king of Bohemia. It is from the ſon of this Raoul, that the new ſtock of Auſtria properly begins, for he took the name of Auſtria inſtead of his own.

THE houſe of Bethune (which has given its name to a city of Flanders, and from whence iſſued the counts that anciently governed that province) boaſts of one Robert de Bethune *, protector of the church

the new work in Latin of father Marquard Hergott, a benedictin, printed at Vienna 1737, in three volumes, folio, entitled, The diplomatic genealogy of the auguſt houſe of Habſbourgh, &c. See alſo the learned and judicious extract of this work, inſerted in the Journal des Sçavans, March, April, and June, 1740. Beſides this general error, our Memoirs ſeem to have fallen into two other particular ones. It is certain, we ought not to confound this ſecond houſe of Auſtria with that which had the poſſeſſion of Auſtria, &c. till the year 1248, that Frederick the laſt of it died, and which drew its origin from the ancient dukes of Suabia; but we want proofs of the houſe of Bethune's being allied to that of Suabia, or the firſt houſe of Auſtria, though it was to the ſecond, by the houſe of Coucy. The duke of Sully probably gave credit to the ancient fable, that derives the houſe of Auſtria from Sigebert, ſon of Theodebert, king of Auſtraſia, and has applied it not to the ſecond houſe of Auſtria, but to the firſt, although the one is no more true than the other. He has reaſon for ſaying afterwards, that Raoul or Rodolph, count of Habſbourgh, and the firſt of this houſe that was emperor, had been ſteward of the houſhold to Ottocar, king of Bohemia; and that Albert his ſon, elected emperor likewiſe, was the firſt of his houſe who took the title of duke of Auſtria, which happened in 1274, when Rodolph gained the dutchies of Auſtria, Stiria, Carniola, &c. from Ottocar his rival; but he ought at the ſame time to have done more juſtice than he has to the antiquity of this houſe.

* Du Cheſne ſeems to be much of the ſame opinion. He proves, that Robert, called Faiſſeus, the head of the houſe of Bethune, who lived in the tenth century, deſcended from a younger branch of the ancient counts of Flanders, and had for his portion the lordſhip of the city of Bethune, firſt barony of the earldom of Artois. If this opinion be well grounded, 'tis certain, that it was the city of Bethune from which this branch took its name, and which was from that time borne by all the houſe of Bethune. The title of patron of the church was then ſo noble, that many ſovereigns thought it an honour to be diſtinguiſhed by it.

of Arras, whose father and grandfather, bearing also the name of Robert, were declared protectors of the province of Artois. One of these two Roberts de Bethune signalized himself in France, by the taking of La-Roche-vandais, a fortress upon the confines of Auvergne, where the rebel Emerigot Marcel had retired; and the other in the wars of Sicily, by killing with his own hand the tyrant Mainfroy, in the presence of two armies; a service which Charles of Anjou, the rival of Mainfroy, did not reward too highly, by giving him his daughter Catherine to wife. They mention a fourth, Robert de Bethune, who gained a naval battle over the infidels in the Mediterranean. In the church, a James de Bethune, bishop of Cambray, at the time of the Croisade of the Albigeois; and a John de Bethune, abbot of Anchin near Valenciennes, who died in the year 1250, with the reputation of great sanctity, and whose bones are revered as those of a martyr. The history of the Croisades has not forgot those who distinguished themselves at the taking of Jerusalem, by being the first that mounted the breach. Antony and Coësne de Bethune †, emulating the glory of their ancestors, were also the first that fixed the standard upon the walls of Constantinople, when Baldwin, count of Flanders, won this capital from Alexis Comnenus; and Coësne obtained the government of it.

WHOEVER has such domestic examples as these, cannot recall them too often to his memory to animate himself to follow them. Happy, if, during the course of my life, my conduct may be such, that so many illustrious men disdain not to acknowledge

† These are apparently the two brothers, sons of Robert the fifth, lord of Bethune, whom (according to William of Tyr) Philip of Alsace, count of Flanders, proposed to marry to the two daughters of Baldwin, king of Jerusalem. It is also certain, that after the death of Peter de Courtenay, emperor of Constantinople, this Coësne or Conon de Bethune was declared regent of the empire, during the minority of Philip de Courtenay his son.

me,

me, nor I have occaſion to bluſh that I am deſcended from them.

At length the houſe of Bethune, growing every day more illuſtrious, became allied ‡ to almoſt all the ſovereign houſes in Europe; it entered into that of Auſtria §, and to conclude with what honoured it infinitely more, the auguſt houſe of Bourbon ‖ did not contemn its alliance.

But I muſt confeſs, that the branch from which I am deſcended, had then loſt much of its firſt ſplendor. It was the iſſue of a younger-brother *, and the pooreſt of all who have borne this name. The eldeſt branch having three times fallen into the female line, all the great eſtates it poſſeſſed in different parts of Europe did not go to the collateral branches, but went with the daughters to the royal houſes they married into.

‡ See in Du Cheſne and father Anſelm, all the alliances of the houſe of Bethune with different princes of France; with the emperors of Conſtantinople, the counts of Flanders, Hainault, Boulogne, the kings of Jeruſalem, the dukes of Lorrain, the kings of Caſtile, Leon, Scotland, and England, the families of Courtenay, Chatillon, Montmorency, Melun, Horn, &c.

§ By Jean de Coucy, who married John de Bethune. It muſt be obſerved, that as often as the houſe of Coucy is mentioned here, it is not in reality the houſe of Coucy but that of Guines that is meant. The eldeſt branch of this ancient houſe of Coucy was extinct in the perſon of Enguerrand the fourth of Coucy. Enguerrand de Guines, who married Alice de Coucy, the daughter of a younger branch, revived it, by taking the name and the arms. The houſe of Guines was not leſs ancient and illuſtrious than that of Coucy.

‖ By the houſes of Chatillon, Neelle, Montmorency, Luxembourgh, and laſtly by the houſe of Melun.

Anne de Melun, lady of Roſny, who married John IV. de Bethune, reckoned in her family, ſays Du Cheſne, as well on the ſide of her father, Hugo de Melun, viſcount de Gand, as on that of Jean de Horn her mother, more than ten princes of the blood-royal of France, and all the ſovereigns of Europe.

* John de Bethune, anceſtor in the ſeventh degree of the duke of Sully, had two ſons, Robert and John. Robert, by three marriages, left only daughters. John is the younger brother, of whom the author here ſpeaks; he was lord of Locres and Autreche. Matthew de Bethune, another anceſtor of the author's, had likewiſe three daughters, and no ſon.

My particular anceſtors, by marrying advantageouſly, reſtored to their branch what it wanted to maintain the dignity of its name; but all theſe riches were almoſt entirely diſſipated by the prodigality and bad management of my grandfather †, who left nothing to his ſon my father, but the eſtate of Anne de Melun his wife, which it was not in his power to deprive him of.

As for what relates to me perſonally: at the time of which I have been ſpeaking, I entered into my eleventh year, being born the 13th of December, 1560. Although I was but the ſecond ‡ of four ſons, yet the natural imperfections of my eldeſt brother § made my father look upon me as the future head of his family; all the indications of a ſtrong and vigorous conſtitution recommending me ſtill more to his favour. My parents bred me in the opinions and doctrine of the reformed religion, and I have continued conſtant in the profeſſion of it; neither threatenings, promiſes, variety of events, nor the change even of the king my protector, joined to his moſt tender ſolicitations, have ever been able to make me renounce it.

Henry ‖ king of Navarre, who will have the principal ſhare in theſe memoirs, was ſeven years

† John de Bethune, baron de Baye: he married Anne de Melun, daughter of Hugo de Melun, viſcount de Gand, and of Jean d'Horn; ſhe was heireſs of Roſny. After her death, he married Jean Du-Pré, a private gentlewoman. He ſold the lordſhips of Hautbois, d'Avraincourt, Novion, Caumartin, Baye, Bannay, Taluz, Loches, Villerenard, Châtillon, Broucy, &c. Du Cheſne, ibid.

‡ Francis de Bethune, baron de Roſny, &c. had ſix ſons, but the author does not reckon John and Charles, who died young. The four others are, Lewis, Maximilian, Solomon, and Philip de Bethune. He mentions each of them in another place.

§ Lewis drowned himſelf at twenty years of age.

‖ "The houſe of Bourbon, from Lewis IX. to Henry IV. had "been almoſt always neglected; and to ſuch extreme poverty was it "reduced, that the famous prince of Condé, brother to Antony king "of Navarre, and uncle to Henry the great, had no more than ſix "hundred livres a year for his patrimony." *Eſſay on the civil wars.*

Theſe words of the author of the Henriade might eaſily lead one into an error, if at the ſame time we were not warned of it by an hiſtorian

older than me, and when the peace of 1570 was concluded, entered into his eighteenth year *. A countenance noble, open, and insinuating, free, easy, and lively manners, with an uncommon dexterity in performing all the exercises suitable to his age, drew the esteem and admiration of all that knew him. He began early to ‡ discover those great talents for

historian better informed, who tells us, that the house of Bourbon was then in possession of a revenue of more than eight hundred thousand livres a year in lands only, which was at that time thought a very considerable fortune. 'Tis certain, that this was all it possessed of the ancient estate of Bourbon, or even of the house of Moncade, the maternal stock; the estates of these two houses, which came by very rich and illustrious alliances, being alienated to purchase the viscounty of Narbonne. Peter Matthieu's history of Henry IV. vol. II. p. 1 and 2. For these alliances, and the genealogy of the house of Bourbon, consult also the New chronology of Peter Victor Cayet, vol. I. book i. p. 237. and our other historians.

* He was born at Pau in Bearn, December 13th, 1553. Mr. de Perefixe relates some very curious particulars concerning his birth. "Henry d'Albert, his grandfather, made his daughter promise to "sing a song to him while she was in labour; in order, said he, that "you may bring me a child, who will neither weep nor make wry "faces. The princess had fortitude enough, in the midst of her "pains, to keep her word, and sang a song in Bearnois, her own "country language. As soon as Henry entered the chamber, the "child came into the world without crying; his grandfather imme-"diately carried him to his own apartment, and there rubbed his "little lips with a clove of garlic, and made him suck some wine "out of a gold cup, to make his constitution strong and vigorous." Perefixe's history of Henry the great, p. 1. Cayet, vol. I. book i. p. 241.

‡ "This young prince, when he was only thirteen years of age, "had judgment enough to observe faults in the conduct of the prince "of Condé, and the admiral Coligny. It was his opinion, and a "very judicious one, that at the great skirmish at Loudun, if the "duke of Anjou had had troops in readiness to attack them, he "would have done it: that he did not do it, but chose to retire, "was a proof of his being in a weak condition, and therefore they "ought to have attacked him; this they neglected, and by that means "gave time for all his troops to join him. At the battle of Jarnac, "he represented to them with equal strength of judgment, that "they had not a favourable opportunity for fighting, because the "forces of the princes were dispersed, and those of the duke of Anjou "all joined: but they were too far engaged to retire. At the battle "of Moncontour, when he was but sixteen years of age, he cried "out, We lose our advantage, and consequently the battle." Perefixe, ibid.

war, which have so highly distinguished him among other princes. Vigorous and indefatigable by the education of his infancy *, he breathed nothing but labour, and seemed to wait with impatience for oc-

* "He was brought up in the castle of Coarasse in Bearn, situated "amidst rocks and mountains. Henry d'Albert, his grandfather, "would have him cloathed and fed like other children in that coun-"try. They even accustomed him to run up and down the rocks. "It is said, that his ordinary food was brown bread, beef, cheese, "and garlick; and that they often made him walk barefoot and "bareheaded." Perefixe, ibid.

While he was in the cradle, he was called prince of Viane. A little time after, they gave him the title of duke of Beaumont, and after that prince of Navarre. The queen of Navarre his mother took great care of his education, and appointed La Gaucherie, a very learned man, but a strict Calvinist, for his preceptor.

"While he was yet a child, he was presented to Henry II. who "asked him if he would be his son: He is my father, replied the "little prince in Bearnois, pointing to the king of Navarre. Well, "said the king, will you be my son-in-law then? Oh, with all my "heart, answered the prince. From that time, his marriage with "the princess Margaret was resolved upon. At Bayonne the duke "of Medina, looking at him earnestly, said, This prince either will, "or ought to be an emperor." Cayet, vol. I. b. i. p. 240.

In the Memoirs of Nevers we meet with some letters written in 1567, by the principal magistrates of Bourdeaux, that contain several very interesting particulars concerning the person and manners of young Henry. "We have here, says one, the prince of Bearn; it "must be confess'd, that he is a charming youth. At thirteen years "of age, he has all the riper qualities of eighteen or nineteen: he "is agreeable, polite, obliging, and behaves to every one with an "air so easy and engaging, that wherever he is, there is always a croud. "He mixes in conversation like a wise and prudent man, speaks al-"ways to the purpose, and when it happens that the court is the "subject of discourse, 'tis easy to see that he is perfectly well ac-"quainted with it, and never says more nor less than he ought, in "whatever place he is. I shall all my life hate the new religion for "having robb'd us of so worthy a subject." And in another, "His "hair is a little red, yet the ladies think him not less agreeable on "that account: his face is finely shap'd, his nose neither too large "nor too small, his eyes full of sweetness, his skin brown but clear, "and his whole countenance animated with an uncommon vivacity: "with all these graces, if he is not well with the ladies, he is ex-"tremely unfortunate." Again, "He loves diversions and the "pleasures of the table. When he wants money, he has the address "to procure it in a manner quite new, and very agreeable to others "as well as himself; to those, whether men or women, whom he "thinks his friends, he sends a promissory note, written and signed "by himself, and intreats them to send him back the note, or the "sum mentioned in it. Judge, if there is a family that can refuse

"him:

casions of acquiring glory. The crown of France not being yet the object of his aspiring wishes, he indulged himself in forming schemes for the recovering that of Navarre, which Spain had unjustly usurped from his family; and this he thought he might be enabled to perform, by maintaining a secret intelligence with the Moors in Spain †. The enmity he bore to this power, was open and declared; it was born with him, and he never condescended to conceal it. He felt his courage enflamed at the relation of the ‡ battle of Lepanto, which was fought at that time; and a like opportunity of distinguishing himself against the infidels became one of his most ardent wishes. The vast and flattering expectations which the astrologers agreed in making him conceive, were almost always present to his mind. He saw the foundation of them in that affection which Charles IX. early entertained for him, and which considerably increased a short time before his death: but animated as he was with these happy presages, he laboured to second them only in secret, and never discloſed his thoughts to any person but a small number of his most intimate confidents.

In order to form a just idea, either of the general state of affairs in the government of France, or of those of the young prince of Navarre, and what he might have to hope or fear in the times of which we are speaking, 'tis necessary to give a summary relation of the different steps taken by the ministry, both before and after the death of the § king of Na-

" him: every one looks upon it as an honour to have a note from " this prince," &c. Vol. II. p. 586.

† My ewe, said Henry d'Albert, has brought forth a lion. And added from a secret presage, This child will revenge me on Spain for the injuries I have received from her. Peref. ibid.

‡ Gained this year against the Turks by Don John of Austria, natural son to Charles the fifth. He was generalissimo of the Spanish and Venetian troops.

§ Antony de Bourbon, husband of Jane d'Albert queen of Navarre. He turned catholick. M. de Thou relates an anecdote of him, which we cannot do better than give in the words of the author of the

varre his father, ſlain before Rouen. I ſhall go back, therefore, to the rupture that kindled the war between Henry II. and Philip II. of Spain. To which ſide ſoever it owed its riſe, the event was not ſo favourable to France, as convenient for the views of the two men who adviſed it. Theſe were the conſtable † de Montmorency, and the duke ‡ de Guiſe, who hoped theſe troubles would furniſh them with the means of reciprocally ſupplanting each other. In this war there was ſufficient employment for both. The duke of Guiſe, at the head of a powerful army, paſſed into Italy, where he performed nothing worthy his reputation. But the conſtable was ſtill more unſucceſsful: the moſt diſtinguiſhing poſt, which was the command of the army in Flanders, he reſerved for himſelf, and loſt St. Quentin, with the battle of that name, where he was taken priſoner. This defeat was followed by that of the marechal Thermes at Gravelins ||.

Henriade. "Francis de Guiſe did deſign to aſſaſſinate him in "the chamber of king Francis II. Antony de Navarre had a great "deal of courage, though his judgment was weak; he was informed "of the plot, yet went reſolutely into the chamber where it was to "be executed. If they murder me, ſaid he to Reinſy, one of his gen-"tlemen, take my bloody ſhirt, and carry it to my wife and ſon: "that will teach them what they ought to do to revenge me. Fran-"cis the ſecond durſt not ſtain himſelf with this crime; and the "duke of Guiſe at leaving his chamber, exclaimed, What a poor "king have we!"

† Anne, conſtable of Montmorency. He received a wound at the battle of St. Denis, October 10, 1567, of which he died.

‡ Claude de Lorrain, a ſtem of the houſe of Guiſe in France, had ſix ſons, Francis, duke of Guiſe; Charles, archbiſhop of Rheims, called cardinal of Lorrain; Claude, duke of Aumale; Lewis, cardinal of Guiſe; Francis, grand prior; and René, marquis d'Elbœuf. Francis the eldeſt, is he whom the author here mentions. He married Anne d'Eſt, and was murdered in 1563, with three poiſoned balls, by the hand of John Poltrot de Meri, a gentleman of Angoumois. Poltrot impeached the admiral, the count de la Rochefoucault, and Theodore de Beze, as accomplices in his crime; but afterwards varying in his accuſations, the admiral was declared innocent. His titles were, duke of Guiſe and Aumale, prince of Joinville, knight of the order of the king, peer, grand maſter, grand chamberlain, and grand huntſman of France.

|| Paul de la Barre, lord of Thermes, marechal of France.

THE

THE duke of Guiſe ſaw all his wiſhes compleated by theſe unfortunate events. He was recalled from Italy, to be placed ſingly at the head of the council and armies, with which he acquired Calais to France. The conſtable in his priſon felt all the force of this blow; and being reſolved to go and defend his rights at any price, he treated of a peace with Spain. It was not indeed an honourable one for the king his maſter, but it releaſed him from captivity. The death of king Henry II. entirely ſunk his credit§. This prince was ſlain in the midſt of the magnificent rejoicings on account of his daughter's marriage with the king of Spain, which was the ſeal of the peace. Francis II. who ſucceeded him, was young, weak and infirm: he had married the niece* of the duke of Guiſe, and that nobleman became in his turn the ſole governor of the king and kingdom. The proteſtants could not have fallen into the hands of a more cruel enemy. He was buſied in forming vaſt projects, and meditating the ſtrangeſt cataſtrophes in France, when he himſelf experienced the viciſſitudes of fortune. A ſudden death, occaſioned by a pain in his ear †, deprived him of Francis II. The reign of Charles IX. his brother, yet an infant, was ſingular in this, that the authority ſeemed to be equally divided amongſt the queen-mother, the princes of the blood, the conſtable, and the duke of Guiſe. Each of them in ſecret ſupported a party of his own. The good deſtiny of the duke of Guiſe placed him a ſecond time at the head of affairs, by the union that Catherine made with him. Upon this union ſhe even founded the principal part of her politics; and 'tis pretended,

§ Struck in the eye with a ſplinter of a lance in a tournament, where he ran againſt the count de Montgomery, July 10, 1559.

* Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, daughter of James V. king of Scotland, and of Mary of Lorrain, of the houſe of Guiſe.

† The abſceſs that he had in this part turning to a mortification, he died the 5th of December, 1560. No more was needful to raiſe a ſuſpicion of his being poiſoned.

the

the hatred she began to shew towards the princes of Bourbon, had a great share in it: this aversion arose from her having taken it into her head, upon the faith of an astrologer, that none of the princes her sons should have issue, in which case the crown must pass to a branch of the house of Bourbon. She could not resolve to see it go out of her family, and therefore destined it to the posterity of her ‡ daughter, who was married to the duke of Lorrain. Whatever there may be in this predilection of the queen-mother ‖, it is certain, she gave birth to two parties in politics as well as religion, which began from that moment to fill the kingdom with confusion, horror, and the most dreadful calamities.

THIS dreadful tempest seemed solely formed to burst upon the head of the young prince of Navarre. The § king of Navarre, his father, was just then dead: his death, indeed, left a prince and a king to be head of the reformed religion in France: but this prince was a child of seven years of age, and the mark at which all the blows of the new council were aimed, who acted in concert with the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, and all the catholics of Europe. In effect, this party experienced the most cruel reverses of fortune; yet, by the wise conduct of its chiefs, and the early talents of young

‡ Claude of France, the second of three daughters, which Catherine de Medicis had by her marriage with Henry II. She married the duke of Lorrain, and had children by him.

‖ M. L'Abbé le Laboureur, in his additions to the Memoirs of Castelnau, assigns another reason for queen Catherine's hatred to the king of Navarre: he declares he read in these memoirs, that this prince and the duke d'Alençon being prisoners together, they plotted to strangle the queen-mother with their own hands, when she came into their chamber. This design was not executed through the horror they themselves felt at the fact; and the king of Navarre afterwards but ill concealing the secret, Catherine de Medicis was to the last degree enraged against him.

§ The author is mistaken in placing the death of Antony king of Navarre in 1560; it did not happen till 1562, by a wound he received at the siege of Rouen. See his character and eulogium in the Memoirs of Brantome, vol. III. p. 242.

Henry,

Henry, it supported itself with glory till the peace of 1570, at which period these Memoirs commence.

PRINCE Henry made use of the quiet that was given him, to visit his estates, and his government of Guyenne; after which he came and settled in Rochelle, with the queen of Navarre his mother, the admiral de Coligny *, and the principal chiefs of the protestant party, to whom this important city, far distant from the court, seemed most advantageous for the interest of their religion. A very wise resolution, had they been capable of adhering to it constantly.

QUEEN Catherine dissembled the trouble this conduct gave her, and during the whole year 1571, spoke only of faithfully observing the treaties, of entering into a closer correspondence with the protestants, and carefully preventing all occasions of rekindling the war. This was the pretence of the marechal de Cossé's deputation, whom she sent to Rochelle with Malassize and La Proûtiere †, masters of requests, her creatures and confidents; but the true motive was to observe all the steps of the calvinists, to sound their inclinations, and draw them insensibly to an entire confidence in her, which was absolutely necessary to her designs; and she forgot nothing on her side that was capable of inspiring it. The marechal de Montmorency ‡ was sent to Rouen with the president de Morsan ‖, to do justice there for the outrages committed against the huguenots; any infringements of the treaty of peace were severely punished; and king Charles usually called it his treaty, and his peace. This prince would on all occasions artfully insinuate, that he consented to this peace, in order to support the princes of his

* Gaspard de Coligny, lord of Châtillon-sur-Loing, admiral of France.

† Philip Gourau de la Proûtiere.

‡ Francis de Montmorency, eldest son of Anne, constable of Montmorency, died in 1579.

‖ Bernard Prevot, lord of Morsan.

blood

blood againſt the too great authority of the Guiſes, whom he accuſed of conſpiring with Spain to throw the kingdom into confuſion §. Theſe noblemen ſeemed daily to decreaſe in favour; and their complaints, whether true or falſe, gave all imaginable colour to this report. Charles did not even make the leaſt difficulty of advancing as far as Blois and Bourgueil, to confer with the proteſtants, who for their deputies had named * Téligny, ſon-in-law to the admiral, Briquemaut, Beauvais-la-Nocle, and Cavagne; and theſe four deputies, when they went afterwards to Paris, were loaded with preſents and civilities.

THE marechal de Coſſé did not fail to give weight to theſe appearances of ſincerity: having by that means inſinuated himſelf, he began to confer in earneſt with the queen of Navarre on the ſcheme of marrying the prince her ſon to the princeſs Margaret, ſiſter to the king of France; and was commiſſioned by Charles to promiſe a portion of four hundred thouſand crowns. For the † prince of

§ Charles IX. had a natural averſion to the duke of Guiſe. He was ſo offended at his having demanded the princeſs Margaret his ſiſter in marriage, that ſpeaking on this ſubject one day to the grand prior of France, natural ſon of Henry II. he ſaid, ſhewing him two ſwords, "Of theſe two ſwords that thou ſeeſt, there is one of them "to kill thee, if to-morrow at the chace thou doſt not kill the duke "of Guiſe with the other." Theſe words were repeated afterwards to the duke of Guiſe, who quitted his purſuit. F. Matthieu, book vi. p. 333. The ſame hiſtorian adds, that Charles IX. purſued the duke of Guiſe one day with a javelin in his hand, and ſtruck it forcibly into a door, at the ſame moment that the duke came out of it, for having, in playing, touched him with a file. Ibid. 376.

* Charles, lord of Téligny in Rouergue, Montreſſil, &c. married to Louiſa de Coligny. He had ſomething ſo ſweet and amiable in his countenance, that at the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, thoſe perſons who were firſt ſent to aſſaſſinate him, ſtopped as in ſuſpence, and had not reſolution enough to ſtrike the blow. Francis Eriquemaut. John de Lafin, called Beauvais-la-Nocle, to diſtinguiſh him from Philip de Lafin his eldeſt brother. The author wrote Tavannes, but we muſt read Cavagne. Arnaud de Cavagne was a counſellor of the parliament of Toulouſe.

† Henry the firſt, prince of Condé: Mary of Cleves, marchioneſs d'Iſle, related to the Guiſes, and brought up in the court of the queen

Condé, he propoſed the third heireſs of Cleves, a very conſiderable match; and the ‡ counteſs d' Entremont for the admiral de Coligny, whom he rightly judged would be more difficult than all the others to be perſuaded: to this laſt article, therefore, he added a nuptial preſent of a hundred thouſand crowns, which the king engaged to give the admiral, together with all the benefices his brother the cardinal had enjoyed ‖. The marechal de Biron § was ſent to confirm theſe ſhining offers, and entirely gained the queen of Navarre, by feigning to impart to her in confidence the ſuſpicions which were entertained at court, that Philip II. king of Spain had poiſoned the queen his wife, Elizabeth of France *,

queen of Navarre. She had no children by her huſband, who afterwards married Charlotte Câtherine de la Trimouille.

‡ Jaqueline de Montbel, only daughter of Sebaſtian, count of Entremont, widow of Claud Batarnai, lord of Anton, who was killed at the battle of St. Denis. The duke of Savoy detained her ſome time in his dominions, but ſhe eſcaped, and came to Rochelle to marry the admiral. His firſt wife was Charlotte de Laval.

‖ Odet de Châtillon, cardinal biſhop of Beauvais, abbot of St. Benoit ſur Loir, &c. He was made a cardinal at ſixteen years of age; and although he was degraded from this dignity by pope Pius the fourth, he was publicly married in the habit of a cardinal to Elizabeth de Hauteville, a lady of Normandy, to whom he gave the title of counteſs of Beauvais, and as ſuch ſhe took rank at the public ceremonies. In 1564, he was accuſed of high treaſon before the parliament of Paris. He died in the beginning of the year 1571, at Southampton in England, whither he was ſent during the war, to ſupport the intereſts of the calviniſts with queen Elizabeth; and after the peace he was commiſſioned by the king to treat of a marriage between this princeſs and the duke of Alençon. 'Tis certain, though d'Aubigné takes no notice of it, that his valet de chambre poiſoned him with an apple, as he was preparing to return to France, being recalled by the admiral his brother. Thuanus, lib. 50.

D'Aubigny adds, that the admiral was in reality put in poſſeſſion of great part of theſe benefices, and enjoyed them during the ſpace of a year; and that Charles the ninth gave him alſo a hundred thouſand francs, to purchaſe furniture for his houſe of Châtillon. D'Aubigny's hiſtory, vol. II. book i. chap. 1.

§ Armand de Gontault de Biron, marechal of France.

* Eldeſt daughter of Henry II. and Catherine de Medicis. Moſt of the French hiſtorians are of this opinion. The Spaniards attribute her death to bleeding, and medicines, that the phyſicians, not knowing that ſhe was with child, made her take. She died a little time after, in 1568.

into

who had been falſly accuſed of an intrigue with the infant Don Carlos. At the ſame time he told her, under an injunction of ſecrecy, that the court being reſolved to revenge this injury, would carry the war into Flanders and Artois, the reſtitution of which would be demanded from the king of Spain, as being ancient fiefs of the crown, like that of Navarre; and that they would commence hoſtilities by ſuccouring Mons, which the prince of Orange had juſt taken from the Spaniards †.

To compleat all he added, that the king had fixed upon the admiral to command his army, with the title of viceroy of the Low-Countries: and he was actually at that time permitted to nominate the general officers that were to ſerve under him, as a little while before he had done the commiſſioners of the peace. The report of this expedition into the Low-Countries ſpread ſo far, that it is certain the grand ſeignor offered the king of France his gallies and troops to make a diverſion, and to facilitate the conqueſt. With regard to the queen of England, nothing was omitted that was neceſſary to be done on this occaſion. Montmorency was ſent ambaſſador thither, with inſtructions to uſe every method, by which he might gain the princeſs, and prevail upon her to chuſe one of the king's brothers for a huſband. A marriage, which, they ſaid, would alike ſtrengthen the union of the two religions, and the two powers.

This conduct, ſo full of ſeeming frankneſs, might have been ſuſpected by its exceſs; yet it had the deſigned effect, and the diſcourſe of the courtiers did not a little contribute towards it. The deſire of breathing the air of a gay and magnificent court, and of enjoying the honours that were prepared for them, ſerved more than any thing elſe to baniſh

Don Carlos, prince of Spain, whom Philip II. his father alſo put to a violent death.

† William of Naſſau, prince of Orange.

their

their ſcruples. ‡ Beauvais, Bourſaut, and Francourt, were the firſt who ſuffered themſelves to be perſuaded, and they made a point of it afterwards to perſuade others. Some hints for a journey to Paris had been already thrown out; theſe three perſons ſtrongly ſupported that deſign, and repreſented to the queen of Navarre, that if ſhe refuſed to go upon this occaſion, ſhe would not only give offence to the king, but loſe all the advantage of this favourable ſituation of her affairs. At firſt ſhe doubted, and continued irreſolute during ſome months, but yielding about the end of the year 1571, preparations for the journey were made the beginning of 1572, and the time of their departure fixed the month of May following.

THE huguenots, one would imagine, affected to cloſe their eyes, that they might not ſee a thouſand circumſtances, ſufficient to make the ſincerity of ſuch great promiſes ſuſpected. The king and queen could not ſo well diſſemble, but that they ſuffered their real ſentiments to be ſometimes gueſſed at. It was known, that Charles had one day ſaid to Catherine, "Do I not play my part well?" To which ſhe anſwered, "Very well, my ſon, but you muſt "hold out to the end." Something alſo had taken air, relating to the reſult of the conferences held at Bayonne ‖, between the courts of France and Spain.

‡ ------Beauvais, governor to the prince of Navarre. Gervais Barbier, lord of Francourt, chancellor to the king of Navarre.

‖ In 1564, the queen-mother, after having travelled through great part of the kingdom, advanced almoſt to Bayonne, where ſhe had many private conferences with the duke d'Albe, who had attended the queen of Spain thither. There were appearances ſufficient to make it probable, that the ſubject of theſe conferences was an alliance between the pope, France, and the houſe of Auſtria, and the means by which they ſhould extirpate the proteſtant party: but there is no certainty, that the deſign of the maſſacre of Bartholomew, which was not executed till ſeven years after, was formed there. Matthieu tells us, that the prince of Navarre being then a child, and almoſt continually with Catherine de Medicis, heard ſomething of the plot to exterminate all the heads of the proteſtant party: he gave notice of it to the queen his mother, and ſhe to the prince of Condé and the admiral,

The king of Navarre had been very ill received in his government of Guyenne: Bourdeaux had ſhut its gates againſt him; and the marquis de Villars *, who commanded the royal army there, would neither draw off his troops, nor permit them to receive orders from the prince. In Rochelle, they were ignorant that the king had actually a naval force over all the coaſt, which they ſuppoſed had been deſtined for Holland. The citizens had moreover diſcovered the artifices which Strozzy †, La Garde, Landſac, and Landereau, had made uſe of to gain the cuſtody of their gates, and to ſeize their city. In fine, while they boaſted of their exactneſs in maintaining the treaty of peace in its full extent, it was but too plain, that a great number of injuries were offered to the proteſtants, which the court either authorized, or diſſembled the knowledge of. The chancellor de l'Hopital ‡ being inclined to puniſh the aggreſſors at Rouen, Dieppe, Orange, &c. this was the cauſe, together with his refuſing to ſeal the revocation of an edict of pacification, that he was baniſhed from court ||. Without all theſe inſtances of treachery, the huguenots, one would imagine, were ſufficiently warned by the knowledge they had of Catherine's temper, as well as that of her ſon. Could they flatter themſelves that this

admiral, and the rage this inſpired them with, carried them to the enterprize at Meaux. Hiſt. of France, vol. I. p. 283.

* Honorat, a baſtard of Savoy, marquis of Villars.

† Philip Strozzy: the baron de la Garde, called captain Polin: Lanſac the younger, brother of Lewis de Luſignan of St. Gelais, lord of Lanſac: and Charles Rouhault, lord of Landereau, who commanded this fleet.

‡ Michael de l'Hopital, chancellor of France. The ſeals were taken from him, and given to John de Morvilliers. He died in 1573.

|| I ſuppreſs two reaſons drawn from the canons of the council of Conſtance and Trent, from whence the author infers, that the pope, the biſhops, &c. did not think themſelves obliged to keep their word with heretics. M. Fleury, and our moſt learned eccleſiaſtical critics, have fully juſtified the conduct of the firſt of theſe councils, with regard to John Hus and Jerome of Prague; and the good faith of the ſecond towards the proteſtants.

prince,

prince, naturally furious, and vindictive, would forget the attempt at Meaux *, the invasion of Orleans, Rouen, Bourges, Lyon, &c. Havre given up by the huguenots to the English, foreigners introduced into the heart of the kingdom, so many battles, so much blood shed? Reasons of state, that phrase so familiar with sovereigns, that under the disguise of policy they may satisfy their personal resentment, and other passions, will scarce permit them to suffer their subjects to engage in such enterprizes with impunity. Catherine, to that time, had always persisted to impute the death of her husband to them, which she could never pardon, no more than their having treated the whole family of Medicis like the enemies of Christ. Nor was there less imprudence in trusting the Parisians, whose animosity and fury against the huguenots had broke out again, in the affair of the cross of Gatine †.

* In the year 1567, the prince of Condé, and the admiral de Coligny, formed the design of seizing Charles IX. at Meaux, where he then was, and from whence the queen-mother made him set out precipitately at night, to return to Paris. This design would have been executed, but for the seasonable arrival of three thousand Swiss, who covered the king in his march, and the calvinists durst not attack him. See the historians.

† The following is the fact, as it is related by M. de Thou, book i. anno 1571. Philip Gatine, a rich merchant of St. Denis-street, having some years before been convicted of lending his house to the huguenots, to serve them for a church, he was, by the parliament of Paris, condemned to be hanged or burnt the 30th of July. His house was demolished, and in its place a pillar was erected, in the form of a cross, which was afterwards called the cross of Gatine. With the edict of pacification, passed in the year 1570, the calvinists obtained, that this cross should be thrown down, which after some delay was at last executed; but it occasioned such violent tumults amongst the populace, that the council was obliged to send some troops thither, under the command of the duke de Montmorency. Felibien, in the second volume of his History of the city of Paris, says, that this cross was replaced at the entry of the church-yard of the Innocents, after the iron plate, upon which the decree of the parliament was engraved, had been taken away; and it is still to be seen there. Sauval, vol. II. book viii. of the Antiquities of Paris, mentions the place where this house stood, in the street of St. Denis, over-against the street of the Lombards, where indeed there is a hollow in the ground, which possibly might be the foundation of Gatine's house.

From

From all this, my father conceived ſuch ſtrong apprehenſions, that when the report of the court of Navarre's journey to Paris firſt reached him, he could not give credit to it. Firmly perſuaded, that the preſent calm would be of ſhort continuance, he made haſte to take advantage of it, in order to ſhut himſelf up immediately with all his effects in Rochelle, when every one elſe talked of nothing but leaving it. The queen of Navarre herſelf informed him more particularly of this deſign ſoon after, and requeſted him to join her in her way to Vendome. My father prepared to go; and being deſirous of taking me with him, he ordered me ſome days before his departure, to attend him in his chamber, and no one being preſent but la Durandiere, my preceptor, he thus ſpoke to me: "Maximilian, "ſince cuſtom does not permit me to make you the "principal heir of my eſtates, to ballance this diſ-"advantage, I will endeavour to enrich you with "virtues; by means of which, I hope, as hath "been predicted to me, you will one day diſtinguiſh "yourſelf. Prepare, therefore, to ſupport with "fortitude whatever difficulties you may meet with "in the world, and by nobly ſurmounting them, "procure the eſteem of all good men, particularly "that of the maſter to whom I am deſirous of giving "you, and in whoſe ſervice I recommend to you to "live and die. I am going to Vendome, to meet "the queen of Navarre, and the prince her ſon; "diſpoſe yourſelf to accompany me, and when I "preſent you to him offer him your ſervice; and, "that you may expreſs yourſelf gracefully, ſtudy a "little ſpeech for that purpoſe." Accordingly I attended him to Vendome*. He found there a ge-

* Francis de Bethune, the author's father, followed the prince of Condé to the battle of Jarnac, and was there taken priſoner. An indictment of high treaſon was made out againſt him, for having borne arms againſt his majeſty, and his eſtates were ſeized, but were reſtored to him at the peace. Du Cheſne.

neral

neral security, and an air of satisfaction on every face, which in public he durst not object to; but whenever he had an opportunity of conversing in private, either with the queen, the prince, the admiral, the counts Ludovic § and Rochefoucault, and the other protestant lords, he very freely told them, he was surprised that they had so soon forgot the many occasions that had been given them for well-grounded apprehensions; that from a reconciled enemy, excessive promises and civilities were no less suspicious, and much more dangerous, than open menaces and declared hatred: that it was hazarding still more, to expose a young prince, too little guarded against the allurements of pleasure, to the attractions of the most voluptuous court in the world. He represented to them, that instead of dreaming of an alliance so unhappy as that must necessarily be, between this prince and a princess who professed a different religion, they ought rather to have endeavoured to marry him to the queen of England, who might have assisted him in his attempts to recover the crown of Navarre, and possibly, as occasions offered, that of France likewise. He had so strong a foreboding of the fatal consequences of this French match, that he often said, if the nuptials were celebrated at Paris, the bridal favours would be crimson. This prudent advice was looked upon to be the effect of weakness and timidity. My father, not willing to appear wiser than so many persons of more distinguished understandings, suffered himself, contrary to his opinion, to be driven with the torrent, and only demanded time to put himself into a condition of appearing with that splendor his rank required, in a court where every thing was magnificent. For this purpose, he again took the road to Rosny; but before he went, he presented me to the

† Or Lewis of Nassau, brother to William prince of Orange. Francis, count of Rochefoucault, and prince of Marsillac, slain in the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

prince

prince of Navarre, in the presence of the queen his mother, and, in my name, gave him assurances of an inviolable attachment; which I confirmed with great boldness, putting one knee to the ground. The prince raised me immediately, and after twice embracing me, had the goodness to commend the zeal which my family had always discovered for him, and, with that engaging air so natural to him, promised me his protection; a promise I at that time regarded as a mere effect of his complaisance, but which I have since seen accomplished far beyond my hopes and merit. I did not return with my father to Rosny, but went to Paris in the queen of Navarre's train. As soon as I arrived, sensible of the necessity my youth had of instruction, I applyed myself closely to my studies, without neglecting, however, to make my court to the prince my master. I lived with a governor and valet de chambre, at a distance from the court, in a quarter of Paris, where almost all the colleges stood, and continued there till the bloody catastrophe, which happened a short time after.

NOTHING could be more kind than the reception the queen of Navarre, her children, and principal servants met with from the king, and queen-mother, nor more obliging than their treatment of them; Charles IX. continually praising the virtues and good qualities of the count de la Rochefoucault, de Téligny, Resnel*, Beau-disner, Piles, Pluviaut, Colombieres, Grammont, Duras, Bouchavannes, Gamache, my father, and other protestant lords. The admiral he always called father, and took upon himself the care of reconciling him with the princes

* Antony de Clermont, marquis of Resnel; Galiot de Crussol, lord of Beau-disner, brother to the duke d'Uzès; Armand de Clermont, baron of Piles, in Perigord; N--- de Rochefort lord of Pluviaut Claveau, a gentleman of Poitevin; Francis de Bricqueville de Colombiéres; Antony de Grammont, viscount d'Aster; John de Durefort, viscount Duras; Bayancort, lord of Bouchavanes; Nicholas Rouhaut, lord of Gamache.

of

of the houſe of Guiſe. To him alſo he granted the pardon of Villandry *, which he had denied to his own mother and his brothers, his crime being thought too great for forgiveneſs. When the admiral was wounded, the king, at the firſt news he heard of it, broke into oaths and threatenings; and declared, that the aſſaſſin † ſhould be ſought for in

* Villandry being one day at play with the king, was ſo raſh as to commit ſome offence againſt majeſty itſelf, for which he was ſentenced to be put to death. Davila, book v. See d'Aubigné, who relates this fact more particularly, vol. II. book i. ch. 2.

† He was called Nicholas de Louviers, lord of Maurevert in Brie. "Muſt I," ſaid Charles IX. throwing his racket at him in a rage, "be perpetually troubled with new broils? ſhall I never have any "quiet?" Many perſons have doubted, whether theſe threatenings of Charles, and his violent tranſports of rage, were not ſincere; and whether this prince, who had at firſt entered into all the deſigns of the queen his mother, did not ſuffer himſelf at laſt to be gained by the admiral de Coligny, in thoſe private converſations they had together, in which the admiral never ceaſed to repreſent to him the fatal conſequences of this princeſs's bad government, and to exhort him to ſhake off his dependence on her. Villeroy's Memoirs of ſtate, vol. II. p. 55. and 66, and many other writers of thoſe times, produce ſuch ſtrong proofs of this fact, that it is very difficult to decide upon the queſtion. If the Memoirs of Tavannes may be relied on, Charles IX. and his mother agreed ſo ill, that this princeſs ſaw no other means of preſerving her authority, which ſhe was upon the point of loſing, than by cauſing the admiral to be aſſaſſinated; and this writer pretends, that Maurevert was ſuborned, unknown to the king, to ſtrike the blow. On the other ſide, the hiſtorian Matthieu believes he has ſufficient reaſon to maintain, vol. I. book vi. that Charles IX. deceived the admiral from firſt to laſt. He relates, that this prince obſerving the oppoſition ſome of his counſellors gave to the deſign of extirpating the huguenots, repreſented to them in a rage, that the kingdom was loſt if their plot was not executed that ſame night, for a longer delay would put it out of their power to prevent the ſchemes the huguenots were forming; who, he told them, were well acquainted with their deſign. He added, that thoſe who did not approve of his reſolution, would never be conſidered by him as his ſervants.

But this hiſtorian does not perceive that a few pages after, he himſelf leſſens the weight of theſe proofs, by relating a converſation that paſſed between Henry III. and his phyſician Miron, in Poland; of which the following is an abridgment, for it is too long to be inſerted here at length. Henry III. then duke of Anjou, going, ſome days before the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, into the chamber of the king his brother, obſerved, that this prince looked upon him with eyes ſo full of rage, and ſuch indications of fury in his air, that apprehending the conſequence of theſe violent emotions, he ſoftly re-

the moſt ſecret receſſes of the palaces of the Guiſes. He made all the court, after his example, viſit the wounded perſon; and when the Guiſes came to in-

gained the door, and hurried immediately to give the alarm to the queen-mother. She, from what had happened to herſelf, being but too much diſpoſed to believe it, reſolved to get rid of Coligny without further delay. Maurevert having partly failed in his attempt, ſince he only wounded the admiral in the arm, the queen-mother and the duke of Anjou, finding they could not hinder the king from viſiting him, thought it neceſſary to accompany him, and, under pretence of ſparing the admiral's ſtrength, interrupted, as often as they could, the private converſation they held together. During this viſit, Catherine, who was ſurrounded with calviniſts, obſerved, that they frequently whiſpered to each other, and looked on her from time to time with very ſuſpicious eyes. This adventure, ſhe acknowledged, was the moſt dangerous of all ſhe had ever been engaged in. As they returned, ſhe preſſed the king ſo vehemently to tell her the ſubject of his private diſcourſe with the admiral, that this prince could not hinder himſelf from betraying it, by telling her, with his uſual oath, that ſhe ſpoiled all his affairs, or ſome words to that purpoſe. Catherine, now more alarmed than before, had recourſe to an artifice that ſucceeded. She told her ſon, that he was ready to fall into the ſnare the admiral had prepared for him; that he was upon the point of being delivered up to the huguenots, combined with foreigners; and had nothing to hope for from his catholic ſubjects, who, through diſguſt at finding themſelves betrayed, had choſen another leader. All the other counſellors, excepting only the marechal de Retz, ſeconded her arguments ſo ſtrongly, that Charles himſelf being ſeized with fear, and paſſing from one extreme to the other, was the firſt to reſolve, and even preſs, not only the murder of the admiral, but of all the huguenots; to the end, ſaid he, that there may not one be left to reproach me. All the reſt of that day, and the following night, they conſulted upon the means of executing this deſign. At break of day, Charles, the queen-mother, and the duke of Anjou, went to the gate of the Louvre, and hearing a piſtol go off, fear and remorſe ſeized them. The king ſent orders to the duke of Guiſe, to proceed no farther. To which the duke replied, his orders had come too late: and they recovering from their conſternation, joined in every thing that was afterwards performed.

'Tis poſſible, I think, to reconcile theſe different opinions, and preſerve to the proofs alledged on each part all their force, by ſaying, that Charles IX. who certainly invited the admiral to Paris with no other view than to have him murdered with the reſt of the huguenots, ſuffered himſelf to be ſhaken by his arguments; and that he embraced alternately propoſitions from each of the contending parties; and from their different reaſons, was thrown into a ſtate of irreſolution, from whence he was only freed by the natural impetuoſity of his diſpoſition, which Catherine well knew how to take advantage of. Coligny's ſecurity proceeded from his not being able to doubt the efficacy of his arguments on the mind of this prince; otherwiſe,

treat that he would condescend to hear their justification, he gave them a very unfavourable reception. The Spanish ambassador was on this occasion so ill treated, that he thought fit to withdraw: nor could pope Pius V. escape the resentment of Charles, he having refused to give the necessary dispensation for Henry's marriage with the princess Margaret, for which the most magnificent preparations were then making. The king carried his respect for this prince so far, as to dispense with his going into the church of Notre-dame *, and even with observing any of the romish ceremonies. The cardinal de Bourbon † making some remonstrances upon these tolerations, which to him seemed to exceed all bounds, was dismissed with a severe reprimand: and when the queen of Navarre died, the whole court appeared sensibly

wise, it would not have been possible for Charles to have so long imposed upon a man of the admiral's great prudence and sagacity. A young king of three and twenty years of age, who till then had been almost always governed by others, was not capable of that deep policy which they have had the complaisance to attribute to him: however, it must be confessed, that this young prince already carried dissimulation to its utmost height, of which his having never discovered the secrets of his council, or those of the admiral, to each other, although strongly pressed to it, is an incontestable proof.

* "The king, says le Grain, was resolved that the marriage "should not be celebrated in a manner wholly conformable to neither "religion. Not to the calvinist, because the vows were to be received by a priest, who was to be the cardinal of Bourbon; nor to "the romish, because these vows were to be received without the "sacramental ceremonies of the church.

"A great scaffold was erected in the court before the principal "gate and entry of the church of Paris, on Monday August the "18th, 1572, upon which were betrothed and married on the same "day, and by a single act, The most high, &c. This done, the "bridegroom retired to meeting to hear a sermon, and the bride went "into the church to hear mass, according to the articles of the treaty of marriage; after which, they both came to the entertainment "prepared for them in the great hall of the palace," &c. B. le. Grain, Dec. of Henry the great, book ii.

Charles the ninth gave his sister three hundred thousand crowns for a portion; and the queen of Navarre yielded the Upper and Low Counties of Armagnac, &c. to her son at his marriage. F. Matthieu, vol. I. book vi.

† Charles de Bourbon, cardinal, uncle to Henry IV.

affected, and went into deep mourning. In a word, it is not passing too harsh a censure upon this conduct of Catherine and her son, to call it almost an incredible prodigy of dissimulation; since a man of the admiral de Coligny's great wisdom fell into the snare, notwithstanding a thousand circumstances concurred to make him apprehend the danger that was approaching: for it was loudly said, that Genlis and La Noüe ||, who had been sent to the assistance of the prince of Orange, were defeated with the connivance of the French court, which, whilst uncertain of success in the principal object of its dissimulation, was not willing to hazard all the consequences which that dissimulation might produce.

They were also informed of the conferences which the queen-mother, and the principal ministers, held with cardinal Alexandrin, nephew of pope Pius V. and with the Guises; who were twice discovered conversing in masques with the king, the queen-mother, the duke de Retz §, and the chancellor de Birague *: this was sufficient to shew what they ought to think of their pretended disgrace. In the death of the queen of Navarre †, they perceived

|| John d'Angest d'Ivoy, of the ancient house of Genlis. Francis de la Noüe, a gentleman of the greatest reputation in the protestant party, and esteemed even by the catholics themselves. The admiral speaking of this misfortune to Charles the ninth, attributed it to the secret being but ill kept in the council. Charles demanded of the duke of Albe, by Claude Mondoucet his resident in the Low Countries, the French protestant gentlemen, who had been taken prisoners. De Thou, anno 1572, book li.

§ Albert de Gondy, duke of Retz, marechal of France.

* René de Birague, a Milanese, bishop of Lavaur, afterwards cardinal. He was at that time only keeper of the seals, and was not made chancellor till the following year, after the death of the chancellor de l'Hôpital. See his elogium in the negociations of Busbeq. Aug. Gist. Busbequii Epist. 29. Of him it was said, that he was cardinal without a title, chancellor without seals, and priest without a benefice.

† Her lodgings were in the palace of Charles Gaillart, bishop of Chartres, a man violently suspected of calvinism. Soon after her return from Blois, whither she had followed the court, she was seized with a fever, and died on the fifth day of her illness. Many different opinions prevailed concerning the manner of her death. The Memoirs

plain indications of poiſon. It never was doubted, but that the wound the admiral received came from the houſe of Villemur, preceptor to the Guiſes; and the aſſaſſin was met in his flight, upon a horſe belonging to the king's ſtable. Even the guards that Charles † (under pretence of ſecuring the admiral's perſon from the like attempts) placed about him, were almoſt all his declared enemies; nor was it leſs certain, that all the citizens of Paris were furniſhed with arms, which by the king's order they kept in their houſes.

moirs of l'Etoile, d'Aubigné, and all the calviniſts, attribute it to poiſon, which they ſay was given her in a pair of gloves by a Florentine, named René, perfumer to the queen-mother. De Serres, in his Memoirs, gives us to underſtand, that the phyſicians who opened her body, had orders not to touch her brain, which was ſuppoſed to be affected by the poiſon: but they are all contradicted by le Grain, and ſeveral others, who maintain, that ſhe died of a pleuriſy, occaſioned by her being over-heated in making preparations for the nuptials of her ſon: to which was added, the vexation ſhe conceived at being obliged to kneel to the holy ſacrament as it paſſed before her houſe, on Corpus Chriſti day. La Popeliniere, Perefixe, and De Thou, endeavour to remove all ſuſpicions of poiſon. The laſt mentioned aſſures us, that Charles IX. ordered the head of this princeſs to be opened, as well as the reſt of her body; and if the phyſicians did not do it, it was becauſe they found the true cauſe of her death in an abſceſs ſhe had in her body. This is alſo the opinion of Matthieu the hiſtorian.

† This is all true, and proves that the queen-mother, and not the king, was the deſigner of this ſtratagem. 'Tis hard to ſay, what was her real intention by this ſtroke; whether ſhe ſought to get rid of a man who poſſeſſed too much power over the king's mind, and was capable of ruining her deſign of extirpating all the huguenots; or whether, if the admiral had died of this wound, ſhe would have confined her vengeance to his ſingle death; or laſtly, whether ſhe expected the noiſe of this aſſaſſination would excite the calviniſts in Paris to revolt, and by that means furniſh her with the occaſion ſhe wanted to fall upon them, for which her party was already prepared. In the council, many expedients to give a pretence for attacking them were propoſed; amongſt others, the aſſault of an artificial fort built in the Louvre, which would afford them an opportunity of turning the feigned ſlaughter into a real one againſt the huguenots; at laſt, they reſolved to put them all to the ſword in the night.

The admiral lodged in the ſtreet Betiſy in an inn, which is called at preſent the Hotel S. Pierre. The chamber where he was murdered is ſtill ſhewn there.

THE moſt clear-ſighted amongſt the huguenots, yielding to proofs ſo convincing, quitted the court, and Paris itſelf, or at leaſt lodged in the ſuburbs. Of this number were Meſſ. de Langoiran ‖, de Frontenay, the viſcount de Chartres, de Loncaunay, de Rabodanges, du Breüil, de Segur, de Sey, du Touchet, des Hayes, de Saint Gelais, de Chouppes, de Beauvais, de Grandrie, de Saint Eſtienne, d'Arnes, de Boiſſec, and many other gentlemen of Normandy and Poitou. Happily my father was one of thoſe, whoſe life was preſerved by a wiſe and prudent diſtruſt. When he was preſſed to come nearer the court, he replied, that he found the air of the ſuburbs agreed better with his conſtitution, and that of the fields was ſtill more advantageous for it. When they were informed that the biſhop of Valence *, in taking leave of the king for his ambaſſy to Poland, had penetrated into the ſecret, and been indiſcreet enough to reveal it to ſome of his friends, and that they had intercepted letters ſent to Rome by the car-

‖ N——— de Montferrant, baron of Langoiran. John de Rohan, lord of Frontenay. John de Ferrieres, viſcount of Chartres. N--- de Loncaunay, a gentleman of Normandy, ſlain at the battle of Yvry, at ſeventy years of age. N--- de Rabodanges. In the manuſcripts in the king's library, N° 8699. p. 31, may be ſeen the original of a letter of Charles the ninth to M. de Rabodanges, dated from St. Maur, May 6, 1566, which begins thus, "Monſieur de Ra-"bodanges, I know with what fidelity you have acted on occaſion "of the commiſſion which I delivered you ſome time ago, to puniſh "the vagabonds and robbers of your country."

N----- de Segur de Pardaillan. N----- de Touchet, a gentleman of Normandy, near Domfront. N--- des Hayes Gaſque. Guy de Luſignan of St. Galais, ſon to Lewis lord of Lanſac. Peter de Chouppes. John de la Fin, lord of Beauvais la Nocle. Peter de Grandrie, ſteward in ordinary of the king's houſhold, &c. All theſe perſons earneſtly preſſed the admiral to leave Paris: "By doing ſo," he replied, "I muſt ſhew either fear or diſtruſt. My honour would be in-"jured by the one, by the other the king. I ſhould be again obliged "to have recourſe to a civil war; and I would rather die than ſee "again the miſeries I have ſeen, and ſuffer the diſtreſs I have already "ſuffered." Matthieu, vol. I. book vi. p. 343.

* Jean de Montluc, biſhop of Valence.

dinal

dinal de Pellevé *, in which he unfolded the whole myſtery to the cardinal de Lorrain; it was then that theſe gentlemen renewed their intreaties to the king of Navarre, that he would either leave Paris, or permit them to retire to their own houſes. To this advice the prince oppoſed that which had been given him by a great many other perſons, and ſome even of the proteſtant party; for where are not traitors to be found? They warned him to be cautious, they told him the names of all thoſe who had been gained by the queen-mother to deceive him. He liſtened to nothing. The admiral † appeared no leſs incredulous: his bad deſtiny began by blinding him to lead him to his ruin. It would have been happy, if he had acted with the ſame prudence that the marechal de Montmorency did; who could never be drawn from Chantilly, notwithſtanding repeated invitations from the king, who preſt him to come and partake his favour with the admiral, and be near his perſon, to aſſiſt him with his advice.

IF I was inclined to increaſe the general horror, inſpired by an action ‡ ſo barbarous as that perpe-

* Nicolas de Pellevé, cardinal, archbiſhop of Rheims, paſſionately devoted to the league. Charles, cardinal of Lorrain.

† It has been ſaid, that all the great actions which the admiral Coligny performed in his life, were againſt his God, his religion, his country, and his king; how much is it to be lamented, that he did not employ his talents more uſefully! All the hiſtorians agree in ſaying, he was the moſt conſummate politician, and greateſt warrior that ever appeared. 'Tis thought that it was in conſequence of the advice he gave to the prince of Orange, that the Low Countries rebelled againſt Spain, maintained the war during ten years, and formed the plan of a republic, which in part has ſucceeded. It is alſo believed, and not without probability, that he would have made a like attempt in France. In Villeroi's Memoirs, vol. IV. p. 322. 340. he is accuſed with great violence, but he always ſteadily denied, particularly in his laſt will, his ever having any intention of attempting the perſon of the king. See his elogium, and political deſigns in Brantome, vol. III. De Thou, and the other hiſtorians.

‡ What M. de Sully ſays of the maſſacre ought not to be thought too ſevere: "An execrable action, cries Perefixe, that never had, "and I truſt God never will have, its like." Pope Pius V. was ſo much afflicted at it, that he ſhed tears; but Gregory XIII. who ſucceeded him, ordered a public thankſgiving to God for this maſſacre to

trated on the 24th of Auguſt, 1572, and too well known by the name of the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, I ſhould in this place enlarge upon the num-

be offered at Rome, and ſent a legate to congratulate Charles IX. and to exhort him to continue it. The following is a ſhort account of this maſſacre: All the neceſſary meaſures having been taken, the ringing of the bells of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, for matins, was the ſignal for beginning the ſlaughter. The admiral de Coligny was firſt murdered, in the midſt of his ſervants, by Beſmes, a French gentleman, and a domeſtic of the duke of Guiſe; the duke himſelf, and the chevalier de Guiſe ſtaying below in the court. His body was thrown out of the window. They cut off his head, and carried it to the queen-mother, together with his box of papers; among which, 'tis ſaid, they found the memoirs of his own times, compoſed by himſelf. After they had offered all ſorts of indignities to the bleeding carcaſe, it was hung on the gibbet of Montfaucon, whence the marechal de Montmorency cauſed it to be taken down in the night, and buried at Chantilly. The whole houſe of Guiſe had been perſonally animated againſt the admiral, ever ſince the aſſaſſination of Claude duke of Guiſe, by Poltrot de Meré, whom they believed to have been incited to this crime by him; and 'tis certain, the admiral was never able to clear himſelf of this imputation. If this cruel ſlaughter (as many people are fully perſuaded) was only an effect of the Guiſe's reſentment, who adviſed the queen-mother to it with a view of revenging their own injuries; it muſt be confeſſed, that no particular perſon ever drew ſo ſevere a vengeance for an offence. All the domeſtics of the admiral were afterwards ſlain; and the ſlaughter was at the ſame time begun by the king's emiſſaries in all parts of the city. The moſt diſtinguiſhed of the calviniſts that periſhed, were Francis de la Rochefoucault, who having been at play part of the night with the king, and finding himſelf ſeized in bed by men in maſques, thought it was the king and his courtiers, who came to divert themſelves with him. Antony de Clermont, marquis de Reſnel, was murdered by his own kinſman Lewis de Clermont, of Buſſy d'Amboiſe, with whom he was then at law for the marquiſate of Clermont. Charles de Quellenec, baron of Pont in Bretagne, whoſe dead body excited the curioſity of the ladies of the court, on account of a proceſs carried on by his wife, Catherine de Parthenay, daughter and heireſs of John de Soubize. Francis Nonpar de Caumont, was murdered in his bed, betwixt his two ſons; one of them was ſtabbed by his ſide, but the other, by counterfeiting himſelf dead, and lying concealed under the bodies of his father and brother, eſcaped. Téligny, ſon-in-law to the admiral; Charles de Beaumanoir de Lavardin; Antony de Maraſin, lord of Guerchy; Beaudiſner, Pluviaut, Berny, du Briou, governor to the marquis of Conti; Beauvais, governor to the king of Navarre; Colombieres, Francourt, &c. The count of Montgomery was purſued by the duke of Guiſe as far as Montfort l'Amaury. The king pardoned the viſcounts of Grammont and Duras, and Gamache and Bouchavannes: the three brothers of the marechal de Montmorency were alſo ſpared, through fear that he might

ber, the quality, the virtues, and great talents of thoſe who were inhumanly murdered on this horrible day, as well in Paris as in every part of the kingdom: I ſhould mention at leaſt the ignominious treatment, the fiendlike cruelty, and ſavage inſults theſe miſerable victims ſuffered from their butchers, and which in death were a thouſand times more terrible than death itſelf. I have writings ſtill in my hands, which would confirm the report of the court of France having made the moſt preſſing inſtances to the neighbouring courts to follow its example with regard to the proteſtants, or at leaſt to refuſe an aſylum to thoſe unfortunate people; but I prefer the honour of the nation to the ſatisfying a malignant pleaſure, which many perſons would take in lengthening out a recital, wherein might be found the names of thoſe who were ſo loſt to humanity, as to dip their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens, and even their own relations. I would, were it in my power, for ever obliterate the memory of a day that divine vengeance made France groan for, by a continual ſucceſſion of miſeries, blood, and horror, during ſix and twenty years; for it is not poſſible to judge otherwiſe, if one reflects on all that paſſed from that fatal moment till the peace of 1598. 'Tis with regret that I cannot omit what happened upon this occaſion to the prince, who is the ſubject of theſe Memoirs, and to myſelf.

I WAS in bed, and awaked from ſleep three hours after midnight, by the ſound of all the bells, and the confuſed cries of the populace. My governor St. Julian, with my valet de chambre, went haſtily out to know the cauſe; and I never afterwards heard more of theſe men, who without doubt were amongſt the firſt that were ſacrificed to the public fury. I continued alone in my chamber dreſ-

might hereafter revenge their death. See the hiſtorians and other writers, and that fine deſcription of the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, by M. de Voltaire in his Henriade, Canto ſecond.

ſing myſelf, when in a few moments I ſaw my landlord enter, pale, and in the utmoſt conſternation: he was of the reformed religion, and having learned what the matter was, had conſented to go to maſs, to ſave his life, and preſerve his houſe from being pillaged. He came to perſuade me to do the ſame, and to take me with him. I did not think proper to follow him, but reſolved to try if I could gain the college of Burgundy, where I had ſtudied: though the great diſtance between the houſe where I then was, and the college, made the attempt very dangerous. Having diſguiſed myſelf in a ſcholar's gown, I put a large prayer-book under my arm, and went into the ſtreet. I was ſeized with horror inexpreſſible, at the ſight of the furious murderers; who running from all parts, forced open the houſes, and cried aloud, "Kill, kill, maſſacre the huguenots:" the blood which I ſaw ſhed before my eyes redoubled my terror. I fell into the midſt of a body of guards; they ſtopped me, interrogated me, and were beginning to uſe me ill, when, happily for me, the book that I carried was perceived, and ſerved me for a paſſport. Twice after this I fell into the ſame danger, from which I extricated myſelf with the ſame good fortune. At laſt I arrived at the college of Burgundy, where a danger ſtill greater than any I had yet met with, waited me. The porter having twice refuſed me entrance, I continued ſtanding in the midſt of the ſtreet, at the mercy of the furious murderers, whoſe numbers increaſed every moment, and who were evidently ſeeking for their prey, when it came into my mind to aſk for La Faye, the principal of this college, a good man, by whom I was tenderly beloved. The porter, prevailed upon by ſome ſmall pieces of money which I put into his hand, admitted me; and my friend carried me to his apartment, where two inhuman prieſts, whom I heard mention Sicilian veſpers, wanted to force me from him, that they might cut me in pieces, ſaying the

the order was, not to ſpare even infants at the breaſt. All the good man could do, was to conduct me privately to a diſtant chamber, where he locked me up. Here I was confined three days, uncertain of my deſtiny; and ſaw no one but a ſervant of my friend's, who came from time to time to bring me proviſions.

At the end of theſe three days, the prohibition for murdering, and pillaging any more of the proteſtants, being publiſhed, I was ſuffered to leave my cell; and immediately after I ſaw Ferriere and la Vieville, two ſoldiers of the guard, who were my father's creatures, enter the college. They were armed, and came, without doubt, to reſcue me by force wherever they ſhould find me. They gave my father a relation of what had happened to me; and eight days afterwards I received a letter from him, in which he expreſſed the fears he had ſuffered on my account, and adviſed me to continue in Paris, ſince the prince I ſerved was not at liberty to quit it. He added, that to avoid expoſing myſelf to an evident danger, it was neceſſary I ſhould reſolve to follow that prince's example, and to go to maſs. In effect, the king of Navarre had found no other means of ſaving his life. He was awaked, with the prince of Condé, two hours before day, by a great number of ſoldiers, who ruſhed boldly into a chamber, in the Louvre, where they lay, and inſolently commanded them to dreſs themſelves, and attend the king. They would not ſuffer the two princes to take their ſwords with them; who, as they paſſed, beheld ſeveral of their gentlemen * maſſacred before their eyes. The king waited for them, and received them with a countenance and

* James de Segur, baron of Pardaillan, a Gaſcon; Armand de Clermont, baron of Piles, a Perigordin, &c. Gaſton de Levis, lord of Leyran, took refuge under the queen of Navarre's bed, who ſaved his life. Some perſons were ſent to Châtillon, to ſeize Francis de Châtillon the admiral's ſon, and Guy d'Andelot's ſon, but they both eſcaped, and fled to Geneva. Armand de Gontault de Biron was ſaved by fortifying himſelf in the arſenal.

eyes in which fury was visibly painted: he ordered them, with oaths and blasphemies, which were familiar with him, to quit a religion that had been only taken up, he said, to serve them for a cloak to their rebellion. The condition to which these princes § were reduced, could not hinder them from discovering that they should obey him with grief. The king, transported with anger, told them, in a fierce and haughty tone, "That he "would no longer be contradicted in his opinions "by his subjects; that they, by their example, "should teach others to revere him as the image of "God, and cease to be enemies to the images of "his mother." He ended by declaring, that if they did not go to mass, he would treat them as criminals guilty of treason against human and divine majesty. The manner in which these words were pronounced, not suffering the princes to doubt if they were sincere, they yielded to necessity, and performed what was required of them. Henry was obliged even to send an edict into his dominions, by which the exercise of any other religion but the Romish was forbid. Tho' this submission preserved his life, yet in other things he was not better treated; and he suffered a thousand capricious insults from the court: free by intervals, but more often closely confined, and treated as a criminal, his domestics sometimes permitted to attend him, then all on a sudden not suffered to appear.

As for me, I employed this leisure in the most advantageous manner I was able. I had it no longer in my choice to prosecute my study of the learned

§ As Henry went to the king, Catherine gave orders that they should lead him under the vaults, and make him pass through the guards drawn up in files on each side, in menacing postures. He trembled and recoiled two or three steps back, when immediately Nançai-la-Chatre, captain of the guards, endeavoured to remove his apprehensions, by swearing they should do him no hurt. Henry, tho' he gave but little credit to his words, was obliged to go on amidst the carabines and halberts. Perefixe's history of Henry the great.

languages,

languages, nor of whatever is called learning: this application, which my father had ſtrongly recommended to me, became impracticable from the moment I lived in the court. It was with regret that I parted with an excellent preceptor, to whoſe care he had intruſted my education; he himſelf perceiving he could be no longer uſeful to me, aſked leave to retire. From his hands I paſſed into thoſe of a man named Chrétien, whom the king of Navarre kept in his train, and who was ordered by him to teach me mathematics and hiſtory; two ſciences that ſoon conſoled me for thoſe I renounced, becauſe I felt an inclination for them, which I have ever ſince preſerved: the reſt of my time was employed in learning to write and read well, and in performing all thoſe exerciſes that give eaſe and gracefulneſs to the perſon. It was in theſe principles, to which a ſtill greater attention to form the manners was joined, that that method of educating youth conſiſted, which was known to be peculiar to the king of Navarre, for he himſelf had been brought up in that manner. I continued to follow it till I was ſixteen years of age, when the ſituation of affairs throwing both him and me into the tumults of arms, from which we had no hope of being freed, to theſe exerciſes thoſe only that related to war ſucceeded; which I began by learning to ſhoot, and renounced all others. In ſuch circumſtances all that a young man can do, is to improve his morals, if he cannot his genius; for even the hurry and confuſion of arms offer excellent ſchools of virtue and politeneſs to him that is deſirous of profiting by them: but miſerable, and that during his whole life, is he, who engages in a profeſſion ſo fatal to youth, without having ſtrength or inclination to reſiſt bad examples: though he ſhould have the good fortune to preſerve himſelf from being tainted with any ſhameful vice, how will he be able to inſtruct and fortify his heart in theſe principles, which wiſdom dictates as well to a private man as a prince,

prince, but by making virtue habitual by practice? ſo that any good action may never become painful, and that, if reduced to a neceſſity of ſaving all by a crime, or loſing all by a virtuous action, he may find his duty and inclination the ſame.

It was not long before Charles felt the moſt violent remorſe for the barbarous action to which they had forced him to give the ſanction of his name and authority. From the evening of the 24th of Auguſt, he was obſerved to groan involuntarily at the recital of a thouſand ſtrokes of cruelty, which every one boaſted of in his preſence. Of all thoſe who were about the perſon of this prince, none poſſeſſed ſo great a ſhare of his confidence, as Ambroſe Paré, his ſurgeon. This man, though a huguenot, lived with him in ſo great degree of familiarity, that, on the day of the maſſacre, Charles telling him, the time was now come when the whole kingdom would be catholics; he replied without being alarmed, "By the light of God, ſire, I cannot believe that "you have forgot your promiſe never to command "me to do four things, namely, to enter into my "mother's womb, to be preſent in the day of bat-"tle, to quit your ſervice, or to go to maſs." The king ſoon after took him aſide, and diſcloſed to him freely the trouble of his ſoul: "Ambroſe, ſaid he, I "know not what has happened to me theſe two or "three days paſt, but I feel my mind and body as "much at enmity with each other," as if I was ſeized "with a fever: ſleeping, or waking, the murdered "huguenots ſeem ever preſent to my eyes, with "ghaſtly faces, and weltering in blood. I wiſh the "innocent and helpleſs had been ſpared." The order which was publiſhed the following day, forbidding the continuance of the maſſacre, was in conſequence of this converſation.

The king hoped to retrieve his honour, by publicly diſavowing all that had been done. In the letters patent which he ſent into the provinces, he threw

threw all upon the Guiſes, and would have had the maſſacre paſs for an effect of their hatred to the admiral. The private letters he wrote on this ſubject to England, Germany, Switzerland, and other neighbouring ſtates, were all conceived in the ſame terms.

It is not to be doubted, but the queen-mother, and her council, made the king comprehend the bad conſequence of ſo formal a diſavowal; for, at the end of eight days, his ſentiments and language were ſo much changed, that he went to hold his bed of juſtice in the parliament, and ordered other letters patent to be regiſtered, which declared, that nothing was acted on the 24th of Auguſt but by his expreſs commands *, and to puniſh the huguenots; to each of the principals of which party a capital crime was imputed, in order, if poſſible, to give the name and colour of a juſt execution to that deteſtable butchery. Theſe letters were addreſſed to the governors of provinces, with orders to publiſh them, and purſue the reſt of the pretended guilty. I ought here to make honourable mention of the counts de Tende ‖, and

* Nothing is more certain, than that he was ſeen with a carabine in his hand during the maſſacre, which, 'tis ſaid, he fired upon the calviniſts that were flying. The laſt marechal de Teſſé, in his youth, was acquainted with an old man of ninety years of age, who had been page to Charles IX. and often told him, that he himſelf had loaded that carabine. 'Tis alſo true, that this prince went with his court to view the body of the admiral, which hung by the feet with a chain of iron to the gallows of Montfaucon; and one of his courtiers obſerving it ſmelt ill, Charles replied, as Vitellius had done before him, "The body of a dead enemy always ſmells well." Theſe two anecdotes I relate after the author of the Henriade, in his notes, p. 32 and 37.

‖ Claude de Savoy, count of Tende, ſaved the lives of all the proteſtants in Dauphiny. When he received the king's letter, by which he was directed to deſtroy them, he ſaid, That could not be his majeſty's order. Eleonor de Chabot, count of Charny, lieutenant general in Burgundy: there was only one calviniſt murdered at Dijon. Francis de Mandelot, governor of Lyon: he was reſolved to ſave the proteſtants, nevertheleſs they were all maſſacred in the priſons where he had put them for ſecurity. He is ſaid, by M. de Thou, to have only feigned ignorance of this barbarity. Bertrand de Simiane, lord of Gordes, a man in great eſteem, N--- de S. Heran de Montmorin,

de Charny; of meſſieurs de Mandelot, de Gordes, de Saint Heran, and de Carouge, who boldly refuſed to execute ſuch orders in their governments. The viſcount d'Ortez, governor of Baïonne, had reſolution enough to anſwer Charles IX. who wrote to to him with his own hand, "That on this point he "muſt not expect any obedience from him."

THE number of proteſtants maſſacred, during eight days, over all the kingdom, amounted to ſeventy thouſand This cruel blow ſtruck the party with ſuch terror, that believing itſelf wholly extinct, nothing was talked of but ſubmitting, or flying into foreign countries. A bold and vigorous ſtroke for once broke this reſolution. * Renier, a gentleman of the reformed religion, having by a kind of miracle eſcaped out of the hands of the lord de Vezins, his moſt cruel enemy, ſaved himſelf, with the viſcount de Gourdon, and about eighty horſe, and came to Montauban. He found this city under ſuch a conſternation, and ſo little in a condition to defend itſelf againſt the troops of Montluc †, who were approaching, that, having ventured to adviſe the inhabitants to hold out, he himſelf had like to have been delivered up to Montluc; which obliging him to leave Montauban precipitately, his little troop fell in with a ſquadron of 450 horſe, belong-

rin, governor of Auvergne: he poſitively refuſed to obey, unleſs the king was preſent in perſon. Tanneguy le Veneur, governor of Normandy, an honeſt humane man; he did all that lay in his power to preſerve the proteſtants at Rouen, but he was not maſter of it. N--- viſcount d'Ortez, governor of all that frontier. See his anſwer to the king. "Sire, I have communicated your majeſty's orders to "your faithful inhabitants, and to the troops in the garriſon; I "found there good citizens, and brave ſoldiers, but not one execu- "tioner." &c. De Thou, book lii. and liii. D'Aubigné, vol. II. book i. &c.

* Here is an error in the Memoirs of Sully: it was Vezins himſelf, a man of great honeſty, but of harſh manners, that ſaved the life of Renier, whoſe enemy he had a long time been, and ſtill continued to be, nothwithſtanding this action. See this remarkable hiſtory in M. de Thou, book lii.

† Blaiſe de Muntluc, marechal of France.

ing

ing to the army of Montluc; and, being desirous of dying nobly, performed such wonderful acts of valour, that they were all cut in pieces. Renier returned to Montauban with this good news; he was now obeyed, and they shut the gates upon Montluc. This resistance, and the resolution of Montauban spreading about, thirty towns followed its example, and behaving in a manner the protestants had not dared to hope for, obliged the catholics to keep themselves upon the defensive.

The catholics immediately turned all their forces against Rochelle and Sancerre, which, taking advantage of the general fear, they had invested. These enterprizes did not succeed: Sancerre, after having suffered all the horrors of a famine, of which no history can furnish us with examples, at last concluded a sort of treaty with the besiegers; but Rochelle held out, and baffled all the duke of Anjou's efforts †, who had in person come to besiege it. The election for the throne of Poland happened very opportunely to save the honour of this prince; and by a treaty, in which Nîmes and Montauban were comprehended, Rochelle preserved all its privileges: and these were the only cities which kept entire all the advantages of the last edicts.

Time also produced other favourable conjunctures for the calvinists. The queen-mother, of all her children, felt only a true affection for the duke of Anjou. The departure of this prince for Poland gave her as much grief as it occasioned joy to his two brothers, king Charles and the duke of Alen-

† The marechal de Montluc, in his Commentaries, finds great fault with the conduct of this siege, that they did not send troops enough, carried on the assaults improperly, hazarded too much, and suffered victuals to be brought into the place by sea; however, he says, it would have been taken at last. He advised the queen-mother, from the time she went to Baïonne, to take possession of this city: it would have saved France both men and money had this advice been followed. See a relation of the sieges of Rochelle, and Sancere, in d'Aubigné, vol. II. book i. La Popeliniere, book xxxiii. and Matthieu, vol. I. p. 340. and other historians.

çon; the laſt of whom, by his brother's removal, becoming duke of Anjou, began to entertain great hopes of the crown of France, when he reflected that Charles had no children, and that his weak ſtate of health was changed into a mortal diſeaſe. The oppoſition he thought there was reaſon to apprehend the queen-mother would give to his deſign, wholly alienated his affections from her. This princeſs, by beſtowing her confidence on a ſmall number of foreigners of mean birth, who governed her finances, had made the greateſt part of the nobility almoſt as diſcontented as the duke of Alençon: He privately fomented this revolt, and perſuaded them to apply to the proteſtants for aſſiſtance, in whoſe diſgrace they partook. To ward off this blow, and at once to gratify the duke of Anjou, and her tenderneſs for the king of Poland, ſhe began from that moment to think in earneſt of marrying the firſt of theſe princes to the queen of England, and of procuring for him the ſovereignty of the Low Countries: but his diſcontent had already produced its effect.

Charles, through another motive, joined in his brother's reſentment againſt the queen their mother. The diſeaſe with which he found himſelf attacked, began at Vitry, whither he had accompanied the king of Poland, in appearance to do him honour, but in reality to have the pleaſure of ſeeing him leave his kingdom. The condition to which he ſoon ſaw himſelf reduced, gave birth to a thouſand ſuſpicions againſt Catherine in his mind; ſo that, uniting his intereſt with that of the proteſtants, he began to ſhew them a great deal of favour. This principally appeared in his permitting them, notwithſtanding the oppoſition made by the queen-mother, to ſend deputies to court, to declare their grievances, and propoſe their demands. Theſe deputies meeting with others, who came from the catholic provinces, who had been prevailed upon by the diſcontented lords

lords to demand the suppression of certain new taxes, and a diminution during ten years of the old, they joined each other. The memorial indeed which contained their demands was signed only by four or five gntlemen, but the terms in which it was conceived, shewed the most immovable steadiness in a party that seemed to derive new strength even from its losses. The queen-mother was violently enraged at it; but the king not suffering her to exert any authority upon this occasion, all she could do was to make use of delays till the death of this prince, which she foresaw was not far distant. The protestants penetrated into her designs; and, that they might not be prevented, appeared suddenly in arms. This was called the rebellion of Shrove Tuesday, because they possessed themselves of several towns on that day *. Montgomery † returned from England to Normandy, where he fortified himself. The queen-mother, and the whole court, was then at St. Germain-en-Laye. She was resolved, at least, to take such measures, that the princes should not escape; but the attempts that were every day made to get them out of her power, did not a little embarrass her. Guitry ‡ and Buhy came one day to St. Germain to carry them away by force; the alarm was very great, but the conspirators not having sufficiently secured the success of their design, Catherine had time to fly with the princes to Paris; where she beheaded Coconnas § and la Mole, the contrivers of the plot, and impri-

* Fontenay, Lusignan, Melle, Pons, Tonnay-Charente, Talmont, Rochefort, Oriol, Livron, Orange, and other places in Poitou, Languedoc, Dauphiny, &c.

† Gabriel, count of Montgomery, the same that wounded Henry II.

‡ John de Chaumont, marquis of Quitry or Guitry: Peter de Mornay, lord of Buhy, brother of Du-Plessis-Mornay. See an account of this enterprize in the life of Du-Plessis-Mornay, book i. p. 26.

§ Joseph Boniface de-la-Mole; Hanibal, count of Coconnas; a Piedmontese. "La Mole and Coconnas were beloved by two great "princesses, [the queen of Navarre and the dutchess of Nevers] love "and jealousy brought them both to destruction." Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. p. 75.

soned

ſoned the marechals de Montmorency and de Coſſé. She afterwards placed guards about the king of Navarre and the duke of Anjou, and ſent ſoldiers to Amiens to arreſt the prince of Condé, who was there ſtrictly watched, and bring him to Paris. The prince was informed of it, and diſguiſing himſelf, deluded his ſpies, and the third time happily eſcaped to Germany; where, upon his arrival, he was declared generaliſſimo of the proteſtant troops in France.

THE queen-mother took a reſolution to ſend all her forces againſt the huguenots immediately. They were divided into three armies: Matignon ‖ led the firſt into Normandy, where Montgomery, having only two or three * inconſiderable forts in his poſſeſſion, was ſoon defeated, and obliged to deliver himſelf up to this marechal, who carried him to Paris, where he was beheaded. The ſecond, commanded by the duke de Montpenſier †, went to inveſt Fontenay, and afterwards Luſignan, which he took, notwithſtanding the bravery with which the viſcount de Rohan defended it. The prince ‡ Dauphin, who commanded the third, took likewiſe ſome ſmall places

‖ James de Matignon, marechal of France: he died in the year 1597. This nobleman, for his great qualities, deſerves all the praiſes that M. de Thou has given him, particularly for his inviolable attachment to the perſon of his king; a virtue in thoſe times very uncommon. De Thou, book lxvi.

* Theſe were Carentan, Valogne, Saint Lo, and Domfront. In this laſt he was taken fighting like a man in deſpair. D'Aubigné, who was himſelf a zealous proteſtant, cannot certainly be ſuſpected of partiality upon this queſtion relating to the promiſe given to the count by the marechal. "The place, ſays he, was taken, and life "was promiſed to all but the count, to whom artful aſſurances were "given, that he ſhould not be delivered into any other hands than "the king's. This I am convinced of, notwithſtanding the con-"trary has been written. France is guilty of but too many per-"juries, there is no occaſion to invent any to charge her with," &c. vol. II. book ii. chap. vii. Montgomery ſubmitted to his fate like a hero. De Thou, Brantome, &c.

† Francis of Bourbon. This branch of Montpenſier deſcended from a Lewis of Bourbon, ſecond ſon of John II. of Bourbon.

‡ Francis of Bourbon, ſon to the duke of Montpenſier, bore this title. Memoirs of Brantome, vol. III. p. 301.

in

in Dauphiny; but having ſat down before Livron, ſhamefully raiſed the ſiege. All was ſuſpended on account of the king's death, which happened this year on Pentecoſt day. This prince died at the caſtle of Vincennes, in the moſt exquiſite torments, and bathed in his own blood. The cruel maſſacre on St. Bartholomew's day was always in his mind; and he continued to the laſt, by his tears and agonies, to ſhew the grief and remorſe he felt for it §. The cardinal of Lorrain ‖ died alſo on the 23d of December, this year, in the pope's territories; a day made remarkable by the moſt terrible ſtorm that ever was known.

THE king of Poland was informed of his brother's death in thirteen days, and the night after the news was brought him, he ſtole out of the court and fled. In his journey he viſited the emperor Maximilian, and Charles duke of Savoy, and took his route thro' Venice *. In all theſe places, they gave him advice

§ He ſent for the king of Navarre, in whom only he acknowledged to have found faith and honour, and moſt affectionately recommended to him his wife and daughter. Perefixe. A little before he expired he ſaid, he was glad he had left no children, who would have been too young to govern the ſtate in ſuch difficult times. Montluc, De Thou, and almoſt all the hiſtorians agree in ſaying, that if he had lived he would have been a very great prince. He poſſeſſed, and in a great degree, courage, prudence, eloquence, œconomy, and ſobriety: he loved polite literature and learned men; but he was choleric and a great ſwearer. He was but twenty-five years of age when he died. Many contuſions were found in his body. De Thou. However, there were no proofs found of his being poiſoned, as the author of the Legend of Claude duke of Guiſe ſays he was. His death proceeded from violent exerciſes, to which he was very much addicted, and a great quantity of bile, that often made his eyes look quite yellow. His ſtature was tall, but he was not ſtrait, his ſhoulders were bent, his legs thin and weak, his complexion pale, his eyes ghaſtly, and his countenance fierce. See F. Matthieu, vol. I. book vi. and the life of this prince written in Latin by Papire Maſſon.

‖ Charles, cardinal of Lorrain, archbiſhop of Rheims. See his character in the third book of Brantome's Memoirs. He died, ſays he, at Avignon by poiſon, if we may give credit to the Legend of St. Nicaiſe, p. 138, and moſt piouſly, according to Matthieu, who wrote his eulogium, vol. I. book vii. p. 407.

* The reader may conſult Matthieu, vol. I. upon the departure of Henry III. of Poland, and the particulars of his journey.

equally

equally wise and conformable to his interests, which was, to grant the protestants peace, and the free exercise of their religion; but, instead of complying with it, he immediately upon his arrival in France broke the truce that had been granted to them for three months, and changed it, at the solicitations of the queen-mother, into a declaration of war against the whole party; to which a great number of catholics had lately joined themselves, out of affection to the marechal de Damville †, who had been distinguished by the imprisonment of his brother.

The king went in person to lay siege a second time to Livron, which he was likewise obliged to raise; and brought nothing away with him, but the shame of finding himself insulted from the top of the walls by the women, and even children, and hearing the most satirical and cutting reflections on the queen his mother. From this time he always appeared so different from what he had been when duke of Anjou, that it may be said with reason, his shameful flight to Avignon was at once the æra of his ignominy, his kingdom's misfortunes, and his own. In his journey to Rheims, whither he went immediately after to be consecrated, he conceived a passion for one of the daughters of the count de Vaudemont ‡, and married her.

It was fortunate for him, that the duke of Anjou was all this time closely confined; but after Henry's coronation, this prince, who again quitted his title to take that of Monsieur, enjoyed, as well as the king of Navarre, a little more liberty, which was increased or lessened according to the reports that were brought of their correspondence with the ene-

† Henry de Montmorency, duke of Damville, second son of the constable Anne de Montmorency.

‡ Louisa of Lorrain, daughter of Nicolas, duke of Mercœur, count of Vaudemont, and Margeret of Egmont, his first wife. Matthieu gives this princess great praises for her virtue and affection to her husband. Vol. II. book iii. p. 438.

mies

mies of the queen-mother §. One of Catherine's other cares was to diſunite theſe two princes; which ſhe effected, by promiſing each of them ſeparately the poſt of lieutenant-general of the French armies, and by making uſe of ſuch means as ſeldom fail to ſucceed, intrigues of gallantry, and competitions in love. Notwithſtanding all her arts, Monſieur eſcaped at laſt: he deceived his guards, and fled in diſguiſe on the evening of the 17th of September. He no ſooner gained Dreux, than he ſaw himſelf attended by a numerous court, and at the head of a powerful party.

THE prince of Condé had laboured ſo effectually in Germany, that prince Caſimir was ſoon in a condition to enter France with a ſtrong army.

CATHERINE had now recourſe to other ſtratagems; ſhe endeavoured to regain Monſieur by the moſt ſpecious offers, and purſued him from city to city, always attended by a train of young and beautiful ladies, on whom ſhe relied ſtill more. In a word ‖, ſhe ſucceeded ſo well, that he fell at laſt into the ſnare ſhe laid for him.

THE king of Navarre, who had given credit to her promiſe of making him lieutenant-general, thought himſelf now ſecure of it, and rejoiced at firſt that he had got rid of Monſieur, whom he always looked upon as his rival; but the ladies de Carnavelet and de Sauves drew him out of his miſtake. They made him comprehend, that if one of them could pretend to this great employment, it would be

§ Henry III. hated Monſieur, on account of his having, as he ſuppoſed, attempted to poiſon him. He endeavoured to perſuade the king of Navarre to kill this prince, but was refuſed with horror. Henry III. being ill with a diſorder in his ear, the king of Navarre one day ſaid to the duke of Guiſe, whom he loved, "Our man is "very ill." The duke anſwered the firſt time, "It will be nothing." The ſecond, "We muſt think of it." And the third he ſaid to him, "I underſtand you, Sir;" and ſtriking the hilt of his ſword, "This, "added he, is at your ſervice." Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. p. 418.

‖ They conferred together at Champigny-ſur-Vade, a houſe belonging to the duke of Montpenſier, upon the confines of Touraine.

Monſieur,

Monſieur, of whoſe reconciliation it would be made the price; but that in reality Catherine deceived them both, and that he in particular had nothing to expect but a more rigorous captivity. This opened the prince's eyes, and he now wholly applied himſelf to the recovery of his liberty. The means were offered him one day in the month of February, when he was hunting near Senlis *: his guards being diſperſed, he inſtantly paſſed the Seine at Poiſſy, gained Chateau-Neuf in Timerais, which belonged to him, where he took up ſome money of his farmers, and, followed only by thirty horſe, arrived at Alençon, which the lord de Hertray had ſeized in his name. There he had a conference with Monſieur and the prince of Condé, and they agreed to unite all their forces. From Alençon the king of Navarre went to Tours; where he no ſooner arrived, than he publicly reſumed the exerciſe of the proteſtant religion. I was one of thoſe who accompanied this prince in his flight, and during his whole journey. He ſent me from Tours with Fervaques †, to demand the princeſs his ſiſter of the court. She was delivered to us, and the ſecond day after, ſhe alſo reſuming her religion, heard ſermon in the calviniſt church at Chateaudun, and joined the king, who waited for her at Parthenay.

The three princes, after uniting their troops, found themſelves at the head of fifty thouſand effective men ‡, and made even Catherine tremble. A bloody war was now expected. I threw myſelf into the infantry, in the character of a volunteer, till an employment more ſuitable was given me. I made my firſt eſſay in arms in the neighbourhood of

* See an account of this in d'Aubigné, vol. II. chap. xviii. Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. p. 420, &c.

† William de Hautemer, count of Grancey, lord of Fervaques, &c. marechal of France, and lieutenant-general in Normandy. He died in the year 1613, aged ſeventy-five years. Madame Catherine of Bourbon, afterwards ducheſs of Bar.

‡ According to others 30,000 only.

Tours,

Tours, where ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened between detachments from the different parties. The king of Navarre hearing that my behaviour had more of raſhneſs than courage in it, ordered me to be called, and ſaid to me, "Roſny, it is not here that I would "have you hazard your life; I admire your valour, "but I deſire you ſhould employ it on a better oc- "caſion." This occaſion was not ſo near as we believed, for Catherine finding herſelf deficient in ſtrength, had recourſe to her uſual artifices. She talked of peace; ſhe offered more than we thought we could demand; promiſes coſt this artful princeſs nothing. In a word, ſhe had addreſs enough to make the princes lay down their arms, and peace was concluded upon, and ſigned three months after. This was called Monſieur's peace §, for, beſides that Catherine's principal view in making it was to gain this prince, he was ſo much the dupe of her artifices, that at laſt he wiſhed for it, and ſolicited it more warmly than any other perſon. It muſt be confeſſed, it was a very advantageous one; however, the princes never committed a fault more irreparable than when they ſigned it.

To this Monſieur added a ſecond error as conſiderable againſt his own intereſt; he ſeparated from the proteſtants ‖, and by that means loſt opportunities both in France and England, of becoming one of the moſt powerful princes perhaps in Europe. Thus all things fell out agreeable to the queen-mo-

§ By the edict of ſixty-three articles, paſſed at the convent of Beaulieu near Loches in Touraine between the queen-mother and the princes, the memory of the admiral de Coligny and the other proteſtant chiefs was reſtored, chambers of juſtice, compoſed equally of proteſtants and catholics, were granted in the principal parliaments, and ſeveral cities given for ſecurity. Monſieur procured alſo a large appennage for himſelf, and a conſiderable ſum in money and jewels for prince Caſimir. De Thou, d'Aubigné, &c.

‖ In reality Monſieur, on this occaſion, ſacrificed the king of Navarre and the huguenots to his intereſts, or his politics. In the memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. p. 90. and following, may be ſeen all the ſteps taken by each party on occaſion of this treaty.

ther's wishes, who, in making this peace, had nothing in view but the disunion of her enemies.

Henry, upon the conclusion of the peace, retired to Rochelle, where the inhabitants, except that they offered him no canopy, paid him all the honours they could have done to the king. The catholics in this prince's train did not meet with so favourable a reception. Caumont, afterwards duke of Epernon *, was not suffered to enter the city, nor any other whom they could prove had embrued his sword in the bloody slaughter of the 24th of August.

The king of Navarre staid but a short time in this city. As soon as he demanded the accomplishment of the treaty, he became sensible of the great fault he had committed: the queen-mother denied she had promised any thing to the protestants, who were obliged to take up arms again before the expiration of the year.

I now quitted my first post; M. de Lavardin †, my kinsman, who had a great affection for me, presented me with a pair of colours in the company he commanded. I was appointed to defend Périgueux, and afterwards Villeneuve, in Agenois, which was threatened with a siege. The king of Navarre had a design to undertake some considerable enterprizes, but the opportunity for them was lost: the greatest part of the troops upon which he relied, disappointed him, and the rest were in so bad a condition, that it was with difficulty he made two attempts, the one upon Réole, the other on St. Macary; in the last of which he failed. Favas ‡, who conducted that of Réole, put me at the head of fifty soldiers, who entered it with very little danger. I demanded a like commission of Langoiran, to whom the assault

* John Lewis de Nogaret de la Valette, duke of Epernon. He will be mentioned hereafter.

† John de Beaumanoir de Lavardin or Laverdin, marechal of France.

‡ John Favas, called captain Favas.

of St. Macary was entrusted; he granted it, and joined my cousin Bethune with me: but Favas retained us in the second troop. This I mention as an instance of the first good fortune I met with in war, for the inhabitants of St. Macary, having had notice of our design, received us so well, that not a man of the first troop, who had courage to enter, ever returned.

At the siege of Ville-Franche, in Périgord, which was afterwards carried on by Lavardin, I was exposed to a danger more considerable. During the assault, having mounted the walls with my colours, I was overthrown by the pikes and halberts into the ditch, where I lay sunk in the mud, and so entangled with my colours, that had it not been for the assistance of la Trape, my valet de chambre, and some soldiers, who helped me to get up, I must infallibly have perished. The city being forced while they were parlying on the walls, it was given up to pillage. I gained a purse of a thousand crowns in gold for my share, which an old man, who was pursued by five or six soldiers, gave me to save his life. The name of Ville-Franche recalls to my memory a very singular adventure that happened some time after. The inhabitants of this town having formed the design of seizing upon Montpazier §, another little neighbouring town, by surprize, they chose for the execution of it the very same night which the citizens of Montpazier had, without knowing any thing of the matter, pitched upon to make themselves masters of Ville-Franche. Chance ordered it so, that the parties taking different ways, did not meet; all was executed with so much the less difficulty, as the walls of both towns were wholly without defence. They pillaged, they glutted themselves with booty, each thought himself happy till day appeared, and discovered the mistake. They then came to a composition, every thing was

§ A town in Périgord, upon the confines of Quercy.

reſtored to its right owner, and they returned to their reſpective habitations. Such was the manner of making war in thoſe times; it conſiſted of ſeizing by artifice the towns and caſtles of the enemy, though often thoſe attempts produced very bloody engagements.

It muſt be confeſſed, however, that the king of Navarre was very indifferently ſerved: his army was almoſt equally compoſed of proteſtants and catholics, and he often ſaid, that his obligations were greateſt to the laſt, for they ſerved him diſintereſtedly, and through pure attachment to his perſon: but it was this medley of catholics and proteſtants that ruined his affairs. Meſſieurs de Turenne, de Montgomery, de Guitry, de Léſignan ‡, de Favas, de Pardaillan, and other principal proteſtants, had an invincible averſion to meſſieurs de Lavardin, de Mioſſens *, de Grammont, de Duras, de Saint Colombe, de Roquelaure, de Bogole, de Podins, and other catholic officers. This appeared, amongſt other occaſions, in an affair where I was concerned: an officer named Frontenac §, having treated me contemptuouſly on account of my youth, added, that the milk was not out of my noſe. I replied, that I found myſelf ſtrong enough to draw blood from his with my ſword. This quarrel made a noiſe; and what was very extraordinary, though my antagoniſt was a catholic, and myſelf a proteſtant, yet the viſcount de Turenne ‖ promiſed him his aſſiſtance, and that of his proteſtant friends againſt me; which M. de Lavardin being informed of, he and his catholics offered their ſervices to me. The viſcount's hatred to me proceeded from my having taken Langoiran's part (to whom I was obliged) in a quarrel he had with that nobleman. M. de

‡ Lewis de Léſignan, of St. Gelais.
* Henry d'Albret, baron of Mioſſens.
§ Antony de Buade de Frontenac.
‖ Henry de la Tour, viſcount de Turenne, afterwards duke of Bouillon.

Turenne

Turenne expected, that wherever he and Langoiran were together, the latter ſhould receive orders from him as his general. Langoiran, who thought his birth equal to Turenne's, made a jeſt of his pretenſions; and adding ſome ſtrokes of raillery, ſpoke of Turenne as a bigot, who came over to the reformed, only becauſe Buſſy * had ſupplanted him in Monſieur's favour. When the quarrel was compoſed, I was adviſed to ſeek the friendſhip of Turenne. I complied, but he anſwered my firſt advances ſo ill, that I drew back, and we continued at a greater diſtance than ever.

THIS animoſity between the parties gave riſe to an oppoſition in the king of Navarre's councils, which blaſted many of his deſigns, and in particular that upon Marmande †. Lavardin having attacked it, contrary to the advice of la Noüe, and even of the king of Navarre himſelf, he cauſed ſeveral bodies, of a hundred arquebuſiers each, to advance, with orders to poſſeſs themſelves of the hollows and other advantageous parts near the walls of this city. The command of one of theſe bodies was given to me; and ſcarce had I poſted myſelf at about two hundred paces diſtant from the city, when I was attacked by a detachment of the beſieged three times ſuperior to mine in number: I entrenched my men, and being favoured by ſome houſes, we defended ourſelves a long time. The king of Navarre, who ſaw the danger to which we were expoſed, ran to us, covered only with a cuiraſs, fought the whole day, and gave us time to ſeize the deſtined poſts; but they were of little uſe to us, as we had not men enough to ſurround the city on all ſides; and the king of Navarre would have had the mortification of not being able to approach it, and of being under a neceſſity of ſhamefully raiſing the

* Lewis de Clermont de Buſſy d'Amboiſe, celebrated for his valour and perſonal accompliſhments. In an aſſignation he had ſome time after with the lady de Montſoreau, he was killed by her huſband and his domeſtics.

† In Agenois, upon the Garonne.

siege, had not the arrival of the marechal de Biron, with propofals for an accommodation, furnifhed him with an honourable pretence for withdrawing his troops.

A TRUCE only could be agreed upon, during which the king of Navarre went to Bearn, to vifit the princefs his fifter, or rather the young Tignonville *, with whom he was in love. I was permitted to accompany him; and giving back my enfign's commiffion to M. de Lavardin, who beftowed it upon young Bethune, my coufin, I quitted my equipage of war, and took one more fuitable to the character I was now to appear in. My œconomy during three or four years, joined to my military profits, made my finances fo conficerable, that I faw myfelf now in a condition to entertain feveral gentlemen in my pay, with whom I attached myfelf folely to the perfon of the king. As I had no inclination to defcend from this ftation, I regulated my domeftic affairs in fuch a manner, that the king of Navarre, who was always attentive to the conduct of his officers, confeffed to me afterwards, that I owed the greateft part of that eftеem with which he honoured me, to the prudent œconomy he obferved in this difpofition of my affairs. It was my youth only that made this conduct appear extraordinary, for I began early to be fenfible of what advantage it is to preferve an exact regularity in domeftic concerns. Such a propenfity, in my opinion, is a very happy prefage, either for a foldier or a ftatefman.

DURING our ftay at Bearn, nothing was thought of but diverfions and gallantry. The tafte which Madame, the king's fifter, had for amufements, proved an inexhauftible fource of them to us. Of this princefs I learned the trade of a courtier, which I

* This young lady was daughter to madam de Tignonville, governefs to madame the king of Navarre's fifter, who in the court of Navarre was generally called mademoifelle Navarre. Mademoifelle Tignonville was afterwards married to the baron of Pangeas.

was

was yet unacquainted with. She had the goodneſs to make me one in all her parties; and I remember, ſhe would teach me herſelf the ſteps of a dance in a ballet that was performed with the greateſt magnificence.

THE truce was now almoſt expired, and the king of Navarre, who had been informed that the city Eauſe*, excited by the mutineers, had refuſed to give entrance to a garriſon he ſent thither, ordered us to come, with our arms concealed under our hunting-habits, to a certain part of the country, where he himſelf waited for us. He arrived at the gates of this city before they could be advertiſed of his march, and entered it, without meeting with any reſiſtance, at the head of fifteen or ſixteen of his men, who had followed him cloſer than the reſt of the troop. As ſoon as the mutineers perceived this, they called out to have the draw-bridge inſtantly let down; which was accordingly done, and fell almoſt upon the buttocks of my horſe and Bethune's, ſo that we were ſeparated from the body, which remained without the city. The rebels at the ſame time rung the alarm-bell, and arming haſtily, a band of fifty ſoldiers came thundering upon us: among theſe we diſtinguiſhed three or four voices, which cried, "Fire upon that "ſcarlet cloak, and white plume, for it is the king "of Navarre." "My friends, my companions," ſaid this prince, turning towards us, "it is here "that you muſt ſhew courage and reſolution, for "our ſafety depends upon what we now act; fol-"low me then, and do as I do, without firing your "piſtols." As he ended theſe words, he marched fiercely up to the mutineers with his piſtol in his hand: they could not ſuſtain the ſhock, and were ſoon diſperſed; three or four ſmall bodies of men preſented themſelves afterwards, and theſe alſo we drove before us; but the enemies drawing together, to the number of two hundred, and our forces being

* A city of Armagnac.

greatly diminiſhed, the danger became inevitable. The king retired to the gate, which facilitated his defence, and there he kept firm. He had the preſence of mind to order two of us to climb up upon the belfrey, and make a ſign to our companions, who continued in the field, to advance and force the gate. This they performed with the more eaſe, as very fortunately the bridge had not been drawn up.

THOSE of the citizens who were well affected to the king, but had been forced by the ſeditious into their meaſures, perceiving the ſoldiers upon the point of entering the city, attacked the rebels behind. Theſe laſt defended themſelves till the gate being forced, the city was filled with our troops. All would have been put to the ſword, and even the city abandoned to pillage, had not the principal inhabitants, with their conſuls at their head, thrown themſelves at the king's feet, and implored his pardon. He granted it, and contented himſelf with puniſhing only thoſe four perſons who had fired upon the white plume.

THE king of Navarre leaving * Bethune governor in Eauſe, advanced haſtily towards Mirande †, upon advice, that St. Criq, a catholic gentleman of his party, had poſſeſſed himſelf of the city; but not having men enough to keep it, had been obliged to throw himſelf, with his troops, into the tower, where he was beſieged, and hard preſſed by the citizens and garriſon of the place. Notwithſtanding the king marched with all poſſible diligence, he could not prevent the unhappy fate of this officer, who had juſt been taken, and burnt with all his men, when Henry appeared before the walls of Mirande. The inhabitants, who thought to draw him into their power, artfully concealed what had happened, and made the trumpets ſound, as if St. Criq was rejoicing for the aſſiſtance they brought him; when a hugue-

* See all theſe little military expeditions in d'Aubigné, book ii.
† A city in the county of Armagnac.

not

not ſoldier in the city, perceiving the danger into which the king of Navarre was going to precipitate himſelf, together with all his men, who muſt infallibly have periſhed, through the great ſuperiority of the enemies numbers, came over the wall, to inform him of the ſnare that was laid for him. The king now thought of nothing but retreating; but as he was very far advanced, the inhabitants of Mirande ſoon perceived that their deſign was prevented, and ſallying out, attacked him in his retreat. Myſelf and young Bethune having engaged too far amidſt the enemy, were ſurrounded on all ſides: deſpair added to our ſtrength, and we fought like men who were reſolved to ſell their lives dear; but we ſhould certainly have been overpowered, extreme wearineſs making it hardly poſſible for us to uſe our arms any longer, when happily for us Léſignan, and the elder Bethune, whom the king of Navarre had ſent to our aſſiſtance, charged the enemy ſo fiercely, that they gave back, and afforded us the means of retreating. The ſieur d'Yvetot, a gentleman of Normandy, and la Trape, my valet de chambre, did me great ſervice upon this occaſion.

THE king of Navarre, ſeeing night approach, gave orders to ceaſe fighting, and retired to Jegun; where two or three days after, the royal troops, with the marechal de Villars at their head, appeared in arms, drawn thither by the report of the attempt upon Mirande. It would have been raſhneſs to attempt them, therefore we kept firmly intrenched, and ſought only to engage them to force us; but this they durſt not attempt. The two armies continued in view of each other till night: a combat of ſix againſt ſix was propoſed by Lavardin and la Devèſe; but we not being able to agree amongſt ourſelves about the choice of combatants, the king and the marquis de Villars both drew off their reſpective troops the beginning of the night.

SOME time after the king of Navarre going from

Leictoure to Montauban, commanded the count de Meilles * and me, with five and twenty horſe, to fall upon a body of muſqueteers, which the inhabitants of Beaumont † had poſted in the vineyards and hollow places in our paſſage. We engaged, and drove them almoſt to the city gates, from whence about an hundred ſoldiers came out to their aſſiſtance; part of theſe we left dead upon the place, and the reſt were drowned in the ditches. The king, who ſaw the rampart begin to be crouded with ſoldiers, did not think proper to purſue this advantage, and continued his route.

AT his return, he endeavoured to avoid paſſing under the walls of this city, and took a lower road, by a place, which, if I remember right, was called St. Nicholas ‡, near Mas de Verdun. Scarce had we marched a league, when we heard the beating of drums, and diſcovered a party of three hundred muſqueteers, marching in very indifferent order, under five enſigns. A council was immediately held; ſome were of opinion that we ſhould attack the enemy, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of their numbers; others diſapproved this. The king of Navarre, who wanted only to try them, ordered fifty horſe to advance, and in the mean time we drew up in a line, with our domeſtics behind us, and preſented a front to the enemy, which concealed the ſmallneſs of our numbers. The ſhining of our armour contributed to deceive them: they fled acroſs the woods, whither we purſued them; till meeting with a church, they entered it, and barricaded themſelves within.

THIS church was very large, ſtrong, and well furniſhed with proviſions, being the accuſtomed retreat of the peaſants; a great number of them were then ſhut up in it. The king of Navarre undertook to

* Frederick de Foix de Candalle.

† Beaumont of Lomagne in Armagnac.

‡ St. Nicolas de la Grave. Mas de Verdun, or Mas Garnier, a city of Armagnac.

force

force it, and sent to Montauban, Leictoure, and other neighbouring towns, for workmen and soldiers for that purpose; not doubting but Beaumont, Mirande, and other towns of the catholic party, would send powerful succours to the besieged, if they were not prevented. In the mean time we endeavoured, with the assistance of our servants, to undermine the church. The choir was allotted to me; and in the space of twelve hours I made an opening in it, tho' the wall was of a great thickness, and built of a very hard stone: afterwards by means of a scaffold raised over this gap, I threw a great quantity of grenadoes into the body of the church. The besieged had no water, and were obliged to temper their meal with wine; and what incommoded them still more, they had neither surgeons, linen, nor salves for the wounds that were given them by the grenadoes. A powerful reinforcement being sent from Montauban to the king of Navarre, they capitulated, and this prince contented himself with only ordering seven or eight of the most mutinous to be hanged; but he was obliged to abandon them all to the fury of the inhabitants of Montauban, who forced them out of our hand, and butchered them without mercy. We learned the cause of that rage which animated them against these wretches, in the reproaches they made them, of having carried away six women, whom, after they had ravished, they put to death, by filling them with gunpowder, and setting fire to it. A horrid excess of the most savage cruelty!

The states, which were then held at Blois, named the archbishop of Vienne *, and the duke of Mont-

* The three deputies whom the states sent to the king of Navarre, were Peter de Villars, archbishop of Vienne, for the clergy; Andrew of Bourbon, lord of Rubenpré, for the nobility; and Menager, general of the finances of Touraine, for the third state. Here therefore is a fault in these Memoirs: consult de Thou, d'Aubigné, &c. See also an account of the session of the states of Blois, in Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. p. 438, and in the Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. p. 166, and following.

penſier and Richelieu, for deputies to the king of Navarre. This prince ſent Bethune and me as far as Bergerac, to receive them. They were commiſſioned to exhort the king of Navarre, to embrace the catholic religion, which the ſtates had declared ſhould be maintained throughout the kingdom. This interview, which had produced a ſuſpenſion of arms, having had no other effect, the deputies returned, and hoſtilities began again.

SOME attempts were made upon Caſtel Jaloux † and Nerac, by the admiral de Villars ‡; but the king of Navarre was preſent every where, and diſconcerted all his deſigns. He expoſed himſelf to equal dangers with the meaneſt ſoldier, and gave a ſtriking proof of the greatneſs of his courage at Nerac ‖; when being ſurrounded by a body of horſe, detached on purpoſe to ſurpriſe him, he repulſed them almoſt by his ſingle valour. It was not in our power, by the moſt earneſt intreaties, to make him take more care of his life; and his example animating us in our turn, twelve or fifteen of us were bold enough to advance within piſtol-ſhot of the whole catholic army. The king of Navarre, who obſerved us, ſaid to Bethune, "Go to your couſin, the baron of "Roſny; he is raſh and heedleſs to the laſt degree; "bring him and his companions off; for the enemy "ſeeing us retire, will no doubt charge us ſo fierce-"ly, that they will be all either taken or killed." I obeyed this order, and the prince perceiving my horſe wounded in the ſhoulder, reproached me for my temerity, in a manner, however, wholly obliging. He propoſed this day a combat of four againſt four; but it did not take place, the admiral having given the ſignal for retreating.

† Caſtel Jaloux, or Caſtel Geloux, near Auch.

‡ Honorat of Savoy, marquis of Villars. Although he was made admiral by the king during the admiral de Coligny's life, he did not in reality exerciſe that employment till after the death of that nobleman.

‖ In Guyenne, the capital of the duchy of Albret.

It was of the last importance to the king of Navarre to hinder the taking of Brouage *, then besieged by the duke † of Maïenne. Accordingly he hastened thither, leaving the viscount of Turenne to bring his troops after him; but beside that this nobleman did not arrive soon enough to succour the city, the interview between the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé at Pons ‡ so exasperated them against each other, that the prince of Condé wanted to fight with the viscount de Turenne, whom he accused of being the author of their misunderstanding, and soon after openly separated from the king of Navarre.

The peace which succeeded accidents so unfavourable to the reformed, was the sole work of Henry III. who was desirous of giving this mortification to the Guises. War was no longer agreeable, either to his inclinations, which led him to a strange kind of life, divided between devotion and sensuality §, nor to his designs, that tended only to the crushing of the princes of Lorrain, now grown too powerful by the league. But although this peace ‖ was less advantageous to the huguenots than that of Monsieur, yet they observed the articles of it with more fidelity than the catholics; who while it still

* A city and port in Saintonge.

† Charles de Lorraine, duke of Maïenne, second son of Francis of Lorraine, duke of Guise. He was general of the league.

‡ In Saintonge.

§ There is nothing, said Sixtus V. to cardinal de Joyeuse, which your king has not done, and does, to be a monk; nor nothing which I have not done to avoid being one. He had no less than a hundred and fifty valets de chambre, *ministros cubicularios*, says Busbeq, Ep. 31.

‖ By the treaty that was concluded at Bergerac, between the king of Navarre and the marechal de Biron, and the edict that followed in the latter end of September, the number of churches was diminished, the exercise of the pretended reformed religion was prohibited ten leagues round Paris, the burying-places of the calvinists in this city taken away, the liberty of marriage revoked, the chambers of justice composed of half catholics and half protestants suppressed in Paris, Rouen, Dijon, and Rennes, &c. King Henry III. called this his treaty. Neither party observed it faithfully: the catholics complained that several articles were infringed by the calvinists. Memoirs of Nevers.

subsisted,

ſubſiſted, poſſeſſed themſelves of Agen, Villeneuve *, for which it was impoſſible to make them give ſatisfaction. The conſequence of a peace ſo very ill obſerved, was an inactivity full of diſtruſt; which rather reſembled a long ſuſpenſion of arms, than a real peace. In this manner paſſed the remainder of this year, and part of the following.

WHETHER it was, that the queen-mother was deſirous of labouring effectually to compoſe the troubles of the ſtate, or that ſhe had ſecret deſigns, which obliged her to gain, if poſſible, the king of Navarre, ſhe quitted Paris with all her court, and making the tour of the provinces, had a conference with this prince at Réole and Auch. She even ſtaid with him a long while, at different times, either at Nerac †, Coutras, Fleix ‡, or other places; for the year 1578, and part of 1579, were wholly conſumed in journies from one place to another, and reciprocal complaints of the bad execution of treaties, which indeed both parties did not ſcruple to infringe.

THE mixture of two courts equally remarkable for gallantry, produced ſuch an effect as might have been expected. Nothing was ſeen but balls, feſtivals, and polite entertainments: but while love became the ſerious buſineſs of the courtiers, Catherine was wholly abſorbed in politics: for once, however, ſhe did not ſucceed. She, indeed, reconciled the king of Navarre to his wife, then greatly diſguſted with the proceedings of her brother Henry III. towards her; but ſhe could never draw this prince again to Paris, nor prevail upon him to reſign to her thoſe places of ſecurity, to obtain which had been her principal view.

* Villeneuve in Agenois upon the Lot.

† At Nerac, ſays le Grain, the queen-mother had ſeveral conferences with the king of Navarre, her ſon-in-law, in which ſome articles were explained, but not all; for the good lady would always keep her Spaniſh gennet by the bridle as much as ſhe was able. It was here that Henry IV. fell in love with the two ladies, d'Agelle and Toſſuſe.

‡ Felix in Perigord.

I SHOULD;

I SHOULD ſwell theſe Memoirs too much, were I to enter into a detail of this medley of politics and gallantry; and, to confeſs the truth, my youth and other affairs, more ſuitable to my inclinations, did not permit me to engage in the firſt; as for gallantry, beſides that I have loſt the remembrance of it, a trifling detail of intrigues would, in my opinion, make a very indifferent figure here. 'Tis ſufficient to ſay, that all was reduced to a deſire of pleaſing, and ſupplanting each other: I ſhall not however, omit ſome adventures relating to the war.

THE queen-mother and the king of Navarre could only agree upon a truce, which was to be in force over the whole kingdom, till the prince and ſhe ſeparated: but whether ſhe thought war would afford her a more favourable opportunity of ſeizing ſeveral towns by ſurprize and artifice, or that this method was more likely to accompliſh her views, ſhe was not ſorry that both parties ſeemed to forget they were in peace, and treated each other as enemies. It was now reſolved, that there ſhould only be a truce where the court was, and not to extend beyond a league and a half, or two leagues, from the place where the queen and the princes reſided. This gave riſe to a contraſt altogether new: here they loaded each other with civilities, and converſed with the greateſt familiarity; there they fought with the utmoſt fury and animoſity. The two courts being at Auch, upon a ball night, news was brought to the king of Navarre, that the governor of Réole, who was an old man, and a zealous proteſtant, having conceived a violent paſſion for one of the queen-mother's maids of honour, had been prevailed upon to violate his duty, and deliver up the town to the catholics. The king of Navarre, who would not long defer his revenge, privately ordered me, and three or four others, to withdraw, and with our arms, concealed under our hunting-habits, join him in the fields. We got together as many of our people as we could;

and

and taking care that the entertainment ſhould ſuffer no interruption, left the hall, and joined the king, with whom we marched all night; and arriving early in the morning at Fleurence, the gates of which were open, ſeized it without oppoſition. The queen-mother, who could have ſworn that the king of Navarre had lain at Auch, was greatly ſurprized next morning with the news of this expedition; however, ſhe was the firſt to laugh at it: "I ſee, "ſaid ſhe, this is in revenge for Réole: the king of "Navarre was reſolved to have nut for nut, but "mine has the better kernel."

An adventure of the ſame kind happened a ſhort time after. When the court was at Coutras, the king of Navarre having reſolved to ſeize * St. Emilion, he ſent us over-night to St. Foi †, which was not comprehended in the truce, from whence we marched to St. Emilion, with a petard, which we faſtened by two port-holes to a great tower. The burſting of this machine made a noiſe that was heard even at Coutras. A breach was made in the tower wide enough to admit two men a-breaſt, and by this means the town was taken. The queen-mother was enraged, and ſaid openly, that ſhe looked upon this action as a premeditated inſult, St. Emilion being within the bounds of the truce. 'Tis certain, that the diſtance between Coutras and this town was ſuch as rendered the caſe a little doubtful; but the king of Navarre, who knew that a few days before, the citizens of St. Emilion had pillaged a proteſtant merchant, which the queen-mother maintained to be a lawful prize, juſtified what he had done by this fact, and all was paſſed over.

It often happened, that the two courts ſeparated from each other, when any thing fell out to give either of them diſguſt; but the deſire of pleaſure, which languiſhed while they were divided, ſoon brought them together again. The queen-mother's court was car-

* In Guienne near Libourne. † Upon the Dordogne in Agenois.

ried

ried by the king of Navarre to Foix; where, among other diverſions, he was reſolved to give them that of bear-hunting. The ladies were frighted; this entertainment did not ſuit with their delicacy. Some of theſe animals tore the horſes to pieces; others overthrew ten Swiſs, and as many fuſileers; and one of them, who had been wounded in ſeveral places, mounting upon a rock, threw himſelf down headlong, with ſeven or eight hunters whom he held faſt in his paws, and cruſhed them to pieces.

At laſt the queen-mother left the king of Navarre, and continued her route through Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiny, where ſhe had an interview with the duke of Savoy, and returned to Paris, leaving all things in the ſame ſtate in which ſhe found them; that is, in a peace which only increaſed the doubts and ſuſpicions of each party: however, ſhe did not forget to ſeduce part of the king of Navarre's catholic officers; among whom were Lavardin, Grammont *, and Duras. Another effect of her preſence was, to embroil ſo perfectly the prince with the viſcount of Turenne, that he challenged him to a ſingle duel. Turenne went indeed to the place of combat, but it was only to make thoſe ſubmiſſions which he owed to the high quality of his antagoniſt. This duel produced nothing fatal, but the viſcount received ſeveral wounds in a ſecond, to which he was challenged by Duras and Roſan †. It was ſaid at

* Philibert de Grammont. John de Durfort.

† The two brothers, Durfort de Duras, and Durfort de Roſan, fought with the viſcount de Turenne, and John de Gontaut de Biron, baron of Salignac, his ſecond. Although the brothers were armed with coats of mail, yet the diſadvantage was wholly on their ſide. The viſcount permitted Roſan to riſe, and Salignac allowed Duras to change his ſword; at the ſame moment nine or ten armed men fell upon the viſcount, and left him upon the place pierced with two and twenty wounds, none of which, however, proved mortal. He recovered, and generouſly intreated the queen-mother to pardon Duras. The marechal de Damville, called by the death of his brother, marechal de Montmorency, coming thither about that time, was conſulted on this action; and it was his opinion, as well as that of many others, that the viſcount de Turenne was at liberty to ſatisfy his revenge by any

that time, that the advantage they had over Turenne, upon this occaſion, was owing to an artifice ſcarcely allowable.

AFTER the queen-mother's departure, the court of Navarre went to Montauban, and from thence to Nerac, where they continued ſome time, uncertain whether it would not be proper to renew the war. This court being no leſs voluptuous than that of France, nothing was thought of but pleaſures and gallantry.

THE news of the catholics having taken the city of Figeac* by ſurprize, and holding the caſtle beſieged, determined them to take arms immediately. The king of Navarre ſent the viſcount Turenne to raiſe the ſiege; who at parting ſaid to me, "Well, "Sir, will you be of our party?" "Yes Sir, I "replied, I ſhall be always of your party, provided "it is for the ſervice of the king my maſter, and "yours at all times, when you favour me with "your friendſhip."

THE catholics, ſurprized at our diligence, abandoned Figeac; and the war being now begun by the huguenots, they made above forty attempts on different places, of which three only ſucceeded†. Theſe were Fere in Picardy, Montagu in Poitou, and Cahors. At this laſt I was preſent, for which reaſon, as well as that of all the towns attacked by petard and undermining, this was the moſt remarkable, I ſhall give ſome account of it.

CAHORS is a large and populous city, ſurrounded

any means whatever, without expoſing his own life. Memoirs of the duke de Bouillon. His life by Marſolier. De Thou. Brantome in the tenth volume of his Memoirs, ſpeaking of duels, ſeems to doubt whether this duel was conducted in the manner it was reported, conſidering the reputation the two brothers were in for courage and honour.

* A city of Quercy, upon the confines of Auvergne.

† See all theſe expeditions particularly related in d'Aubigné, vol. II. book iv.

on

on three sides by water ‡. Vesins ‖, who was governor of it, had above two thousand men, besides a hundred horse, under his command; and he obliged the citizens also to take arms. He kept himself upon his guard like a man who expected to be attacked; which we discovered by a paper found in his cabinet, on which he had wrote these few words with his own hand, "A fig for the huguenots." The king of Navarre, whose little army was weakened by the absence of Chouppes, and who saw no means of opening himself a passage but by petard and undermining, did not, however, despair of taking the city. He reinforced his troops with all the soldiers he could find in Montauban, Négrepelisse, St. Antonin, Cajare, and Senevieres §; but the whole did not amount to more than fifteen hundred men, with whom he left Montauban, and arrived about midnight within a quarter of a league of Cahors. It was in the month of June, the weather extremely hot, with violent thunder, but no rain. He ordered us to halt in a plantation of walnut trees, where a fountain of running-water afforded us some refreshment. Here he settled the order of his march, and of the whole attack. Two petardeers belonging to the viscount Gourdon *, the chief contriver of this enterpirze, followed by ten of the bravest soldiers in the king's guards, marched before us, to open a passage into the city. They were sustained by twenty others, and thirty horse of the king's guards likewise, under the conduct of St. Martin †, their captain; forty gentlemen, commanded by Roquelaure ‡, and sixty soldiers of the guard composed

‡ The river of Lot washes its walls.

‖ The same who is mentioned in the beginning of this book. It is thought, that if he had not been slain in the attack, at the head of his people, the king of Navarre would not have made himself master of the place.

§ Towns in Quercy.

* ---de Terride, viscount of Gourdon.

† Charles le Clerc de St. Martin. He was slain there.

‡ Antony de Roquelaure,

another

another body, in which I was, and marched after wards. The king of Navarre, at the head of two hundred men, divided into four bands, came next the remainder of his little army, which made a body of about one thousand or twelve hundred arquebusiers, in six platoons, closed the march.

We had three gates to force; these we made haste to throw down with the petard, after which we made use of hatchets. The breaches were so low that the first who entered were obliged to creep through upon their hands and feet. At the noise of the petard, forty men armed, and about two hundred arquebusiers, ran almost naked to dispute our entry; mean time the bells rung the alarm, to warn every body to stand to their defence. In a moment the houses were covered with soldiers, who threw large pieces of wood, tiles, and stones upon us with repeated cries of "Charge, kill them." We soon found, that they were resolved to receive us boldly; it was necessary, therefore, at first, to sustain an encounter, which lasted about a quarter of an hour, and was very terrible. I was cast to the ground by a large stone that was thrown out of a window; but by the assistance of the sieur de la Bertichere, and la Trape, my valet de chambre, I recovered, and resumed my post. All this time we advanced very little, for fresh platoons immediately succeeded those that fled before us; so that before we gained the great square, we had endured more than twelve battles. My cuisses being loosened, I was wounded in the left thigh. At last we got to the square, which we found barricaded, and with infinite labour we demolished those works, being all the time exposed to the continual discharge of the artillery, which the enemy had formed into a battery.

The king of Navarre continued at the head of his troops during all these attacks; he had two pikes broke,

broke, and his armour was battered in several places by the fire and blows of the enemy. We had already performed enough to have gained a great victory; but so much remained to do, that the battle seemed only to be just begun; the city being of large extent, and filled with so great a number of soldiers, that we in comparison of them were but a handful. At every cross-way we had a new combat to sustain, and every stone house we were obliged to storm; each inch of ground was so well defended, that the king of Navarre had occasion for all his men, and we had not a moment's leisure to take breath.

It is hardly credible that we could endure this violent exercise for five whole days and nights; during which time, not one of us durst quit his post for a single moment, take any nourishment, but with his arms in his hand; or sleep, except for a few moments leaning against the shops. Fatigue, faintness, the weight of our arms, and the excessive heat, joined to the pain of our wounds, deprived us of the little remainder of our strength; our feet scorched with heat, and bleeding in many places, gave us agonies impossible to be expressed.

The citizens, who suffered none of these inconveniencies, and who became every minute more sensible of the smallness of our numbers, far from surrendering, thought of nothing but protracting the fight till the arrival of some succours, which they said were very near: they sent forth great cries, and animated each other by our obstinacy. Though their defence was weak, yet they did enough to oblige us to keep upon our guard, which completed our misfortunes. In this extremity, the principal officers went to the king, and advised him to assemble as many men as he could about his person, and open himself a retreat. They redoubled their instances at the report which was spread, and which they found to be true, that the succours expected by the enemy were arrived at the bar, and would be so

soon

ſoon in the city, that he would have but juſt time to force the wall, and ſecure himſelf a paſſage. But this brave prince, whoſe courage nothing was ever able to ſuppreſs, turning towards them with a ſmiling countenance, and air ſo intrepid, as might have inſpired courage into the moſt puſillanimous heart: "'Tis heaven, ſaid he, which dictates what I "ought to do upon this occaſion; remember then, "that my retreat out of this city, without having "ſecured one alſo to my party, ſhall be the retreat "of my ſoul from my body. My honour requires "this of me; ſpeak therefore to me of nothing but "fighting, conqueſt, or death."

ANIMATED by theſe words, and the example of ſo brave a leader, we began to make new efforts; but in all probability, we ſhould at laſt have been wholly defeated, but for the arrival of Chouppes ‖, whom the king had the precaution to ſend for before the attack: he, having underſtood the danger Henry was in, opened himſelf a paſſage into the city, with five or ſix hundred foot, and a hundred horſe, trampling over the enemy as he paſſed, who gathered in crouds to obſtruct his way. As ſoon as he joined us, we marched together to the bar, where the enemies ſuccours were endeavouring to enter. All this quarter we forced, and when we had made ourſelves maſters of the parapets and towers, it was not difficult to oblige the enemies without to abandon their enterprize and retreat; after which, the inhabitants finding themſelves no longer able to reſiſt, laid down their arms, and the city was given up to plunder. My good fortune threw a ſmall iron cheſt in my way, in which I found about four thouſand crowns. In the relation of an action ſo hot, ſo long, and ſo glorious for the young § prince that

‖ Peter de Chouppes.

§ Other hiſtorians agree, that this attack laſted five whole days, and that Henry IV. had a great many ſoldiers wounded there, and only ſeventy ſlain. M. de Thou's relation of this action is a little different, but our Memoirs deſerve moſt credit.

con-

conducted it, I am obliged to suppress many circumstances, and many particular exploits, performed by the king and his officers, which would have the appearance of being fabulous.

The king of Navarre having left Cabrieres * governor in Cahors, returned to Montauban. He defeated likewise two or three squadrons belonging to the marechal de Biron's army, who was under a necessity of shutting himself up in Marmande. The king, for the greater convenience of taking this city, came to Tonneins †; which produced a great many little attacks, the marechal de Biron's soldiers making inroads every day into the enemy's country. Henry one day ordered Lésignan, at the head of five and twenty gentlemen well mounted, of which number I was one, to advance even to the gates of Marmande, as if to defy them: which was often done. We were followed by a hundred foot, who lay down on the shore of a rivulet not far from us; and the king, with three hundred horse, and two companies of his guards, concealed himself in a wood at a small distance. Our orders were to fire our pistols only, and to endeavour to take any of the soldiers whom we should find without the walls, and retire towards the little body of foot when they began to pursue us. Accordingly, as soon as we saw ourselves ready to be attacked by a hundred horse, who came out of the city, we marched off, though they insultingly called out to us to stay. An officer of our troop, named Quasy, hearing himself defied by name, could not restrain his indignation, but turned his horse's bridle, and shot his challenger dead: he lost his horse, however, and regained his brigade on foot. Upon seeing him attacked by the enemy's party, who were enraged at the death of their comrade, we marched immediately to his assistance: and now so fierce a combat ensued, that

* Consult d'Aubigné upon these expeditions, vol. II. book iv.
† In Agenois upon the Garonne.

one

one of our valets, seized with terror, fled, and carried the alarm to the king of Navarre; telling him, that we, and the whole party of foot were put to the sword. This he said without the least foundation; for the enemy, on the contrary, seeing the body of foot, who came out of their ambuscade to second us, fearing some stratagem, and supposing that the whole army would fall upon them, retreated precipitately into the city.

It was with great difficulty that they could restrain the ardent Henry from rushing upon the enemy's army to revenge us, and perishing gloriously; but they made him such pressing instances to retire, that he consented to it at last, though with infinite regret. His astonishment was extremely great when he saw us, and his grief still greater for having yielded to counsellors too timid; especially when he saw Lésignan, who complained bitterly that he had been abandoned upon this occasion. As for me, I lost an horse in the action, which was killed under me.

The king of Navarre's discontent was greatly increased by the bad news that was brought him. The prince of Condé, not satisfied with having corrupted some of his troops, and openly separating from his party, had drawn several towns of Dauphiny and Languedoc into his interest, and took them from Henry to compose a sovereignty for himself. Aigues-mortes and Pecais ‡, he had engaged to prince Casimir as securities for the forces this prince had promised: and very lately, he had possessed himself of Fere ‖ in Picardy; the loss of which sensibly affected the king of Navarre. His army, already much inferior to that of the catholics, he was now obliged to dismember, and sent Turenne against the prince of

‡ Towns in Languedoc.

‖ It was re-taken immediately by the marechal de Matignon. In the Memoirs of the league there is a letter from queen Catherine to the prince of Condé, in which she thanks him for having taken arms against the court.

Condé,

Condé, who soon disconcerted all his projects: as for himself, being no longer able to keep the field before the marechal Biron, he shut himself up in Nerac; in which the ladies and court of Navarre then were, and as brilliant as ever, notwithstanding the bad condition of the king's affairs.

THIS retreat gave a new face to the war; it could neither be called a campaign nor a siege, but it was both together. Biron, judging the siege of this place to be an enterprize for which he had not sufficient strength, sought only to keep us in continual alarm, by surrounding it with all his troops; and the king of Navarre, though blocked up in the city, did not however fail to shew himself often in the field. The gates of the city were kept shut by his orders, his cavalry therefore was of no use to him; and our only resource was to assemble in small parties, and sally out by the private doors, to attack the separate detachments of the royal army, and sometimes we would advance to the very front of the whole army. I resumed my former condition of a private soldier, and mixing with the officers, performed many of those rash actions, in which there is neither fame nor advantage to be gained; and were likewise severely condemned by the king of Navarre. When he was informed one day that I was wounded and taken by a party of the enemy, notwithstanding his anger, he sent Des-Champs and Dominge to rescue me if possible; and at my return calling me rash and presumptuous, he expressly forbid me ever to leave the city without his orders. I confess, I but too justly merited these reproofs; for it is great folly and extravagance to precipitate one's self into inevitable dangers, from whence nothing less than a miracle can extricate one. The marechal de Biron made shew of besieging Nerac; but all ended in a few slight skirmishes, which the ladies beheld from behind the ramparts. The enemy's general had so little respect for them, that he ordered five or six

 discharges

discharges of cannon * to be made, though he expected no advantage from it.

The king of Navarre did not, however, neglect to make himself master of Monségur †. Milon, one of his captains, enclosed five hundred weight of powder in a sausisse, which he found means to introduce into a common shore, which ran into a ditch between the two principal gates; the end of the sausisse, to which the fire was to be applied, was concealed amongst the grass. When every thing was ready for the playing off this machine, the king permitted us to go and see the effect, which indeed was wonderful. One of the two gates was thrown into the midst of the city, and the other fifty paces forwards into the field. The vaults were all ruined, and a breach being made in the wall, wide enough to admit three men a-breast, the city was taken. The enemy seeming determined to recover it, the king commanded me to shut myself up in it with forty gentlemen. We applied ourselves to the fortifying the place well with palisades and intrenchments, in the place of those the powder had destroyed; and this we performed without interruption, notwithstanding we were all afflicted with a kind of epidemical distemper ‡, and myself more than any other. At length we put the place into such a condition, that we had nothing to apprehend from the enemy; after which I returned to the king of Navarre, who by the caresses with which he loaded me on this occasion, was desirous of teaching me to make a just distinction between military exploits that are authorized by duty, and those which a rash and misguided courage suggests.

* Some cannon were discharged against a gate of the city, behind which was the queen of Navarre. At the peace, she procured the government of Guienne to be taken from this marechal.

‡ In the country of Foix.

† This distemper seized them in the reins, the head, and particularly in the neck. Bleeding and purging were mortal in it. De Thou observes also, that this disease was the fore-runner of a plague that carried off forty thousand people in Paris. Book lxxiii.

It was with pleasure that I saw this prince's favour towards me increase every day, and to find that he gave to inclination what he believed he had granted only to his mother's recommendation; who, when dying, pressed him to take care of my fortune. Some slight services I did him this year, he rewarded by the post of counsellor of Navarre, and chamberlain in ordinary, with a pension of two thousand livres, which at that time was thought very considerable. I was then but nineteen years of age, and the fire of youth drew me into a fault which had like to have made me lose for ever the favour of this prince.

I was at supper one night with Beauvais, the son of the king of Navarre's governor, and an officer named Usseau, who happening to quarrel, resolved to fight, and intreated me to provide them with the means. Instead of immediately acquainting the king of Navarre with their design, that prince being very solicitous to prevent these sort of combats, which a false sense of honour made very frequent at that time, I was imprudent enough to promise to comply; and after having in vain endeavoured to reconcile them, conducted them myself to the meadow where they fought, and each received a very dangerous wound. The king of Navarre, who loved Beauvais, was extremely offended with me for the part I had acted in this affair. He ordered me to be sent for, and told me in a rage, that I insulted the authority of the sovereign, even in his own court, and that, were strict justice to be done on me, I should lose my head. Instead of repairing my fault by an ingenuous confession of it, I added another still greater: Piqued at this prince's threatening, I answered haughtily, That I was neither his subject nor vassal; and threatened him, in my turn, with quitting his service. The king discovered no other resentment for this insolence, than a contemptuous silence. I went out of his

preſence, with an intention to leave this good prince, and perhaps for ever, had not the princeſſes undertaken to make my peace with the king, who liſtening only to the dictates of his friendſhip for me, contented himſelf with puniſhing me no otherwiſe for my fault, than by treating me, during ſome time, with great coldneſs: at length, when he was convinced of the ſincerity of my repentance, he reſumed his former ſentiments. This inſtance of his goodneſs made me know in what manner ſo worthy a prince ought to be ſerved. I attached myſelf to him more ſtrongly than before, reſolving, from that moment, never to have any other maſter: but I ſaw myſelf removed from him for ſome time, by an imprudent promiſe which I had made to the duke of Alençon.

BOOK II.

THE queen-mother, whoſe fertile imagination was ever producing ſchemes for the grandeur of her houſe *, and ſtill more employed for her own particular deſigns, having no longer any hope of marrying her youngeſt ſon to the queen of England, turned all her views upon Flanders, of which ſhe undertook to make him ſovereign. She had at firſt made ſeveral ineffectual attempts upon the Dutch; who, thinking they ſhould appeaſe the reſentment of Spain † by chuſing a maſter out of the houſe of Auſtria, decreed that honour to the arch-

* M. de Thou, treating of this ſubject, ſays, book xcvi. that before the crown of Poland was offered to the duke of Anjou, Catherine, who was reſolved to make him a ſovereign one way or other, had ſent Francis de Noailles to Selim, then grand ſeignior, to aſk the kingdom of Algiers for this prince; Sardinia was to be added to it, which had been obtained from Spain, in exchange for the kingdom of Navarre, which they had promiſed him the poſſeſſion of; and as an equivalent for the claim the king of Navarre had to this kingdom, other eſtates in France were to be given him.

† The revolt of the United Provinces from Spain, an account of which will be ſeen in the following part of theſe Memoirs, began by

an

duke Matthias, notwithstanding the powerful intrigues of Catherine. The archduke was a weak prince, absolutely destitute of the qualities necessary for a sovereign; upon this occasion especially, where valour was so necessary, he behaved in such a manner, as to inspire the nobility with the utmost contempt for him; and by preferring the prince of Orange‡ openly to all the other lords, and declaring him lieutenant-general of his forces, rendered himself completely hateful to them. The Dutch, disgusted with this new master, thought of nothing but freeing themselves from his power, and cast their eyes upon Monsieur, brother to the king of France: whom they considered as a prince capable of defending them in his own person, and procuring them the powerful protection of his country.

He was at Coutras when the deputies from the United Provinces came to make him this offer: he accepted it joyfully, and deferred his journey to the Low Countries no longer than till he could appear there with a train suitable to the dignity of his birth. For this purpose, he earnestly solicited the most distinguished amongst the lords and gentlemen of the king of Navarre's party to follow him. The greatest part of the catholics attached themselves to him, and the hopes of a solid and lasting peace, with which the queen-mother took care to amuse the protestants, was the cause that many of those also promised to attend him.

Fervaques and Rochepot §, two of my kinsmen, engaged themselves in his party; and, to prevail upon me to follow their example, represented to me, that after the loss I had lately suffered by the death of my father, I should take care to recover

an insurrection, and a confederacy formed in the year 1566, the design of which was to hinder the establishment of the inquisition in those countries. Manuscripts in the king's library, marked 9981.

‡ William of Nassau, prince of Orange.

§ Antony de Silly, lord of Rochepot.

the succession to the viscount de Gand's ‖ estate, who had disinherited me on account of my religion, and endeavour to get possession of several other estates in Flanders, to which my family was entitled, and which only the protection of a new sovereign could procure me. To these reasons they added, in the name of Monsieur, a promise of twelve thousand crowns, to furnish me with an equipage. I yielded to their solicitations, and gave my word to go with them. Our expedition was protracted a considerable time, on account of several different affairs; at length all obstacles * being removed, and the Dutch repeating their intreaties, Monsieur reminding us of our engagement, sent us orders to join him. When I went to take leave of the king of Navarre, I had a long conversation with him on my departure, and the occasion of it; which I have never reflected on since without the deepest gratitude for that generous affection he discovered for me, nor without admiration of his penetrating wit, and the justness of his conjectures. When I mentioned leaving him, "'Tis by this stroke, said he, that "we shall lose you; all is over, you will become "a Dutchman and a papist." I assured him that I would be neither; but that I should have cause to reproach myself eternally, if by neglecting to cultivate the favour of my relations, and for the sake of avoiding a little trouble, I should see myself deprived of those large estates that might revert to me from

‖ Hugh de Melun, viscount de Gand, grandfather by the mother's side to M. de Sully.

* By the peace concluded at Fleix, a castle upon the Dordogne, between the king of Navarre and the duke of Anjou. The protestants, to whom the last war had not been very favourable, consented to it without any difficulty. The duke of Anjou desired it with great ardour, in order to prosecute his designs upon the Low Countries; it was signed in the month of November. The articles were not made known, but were believed to be of little importance. The cities given for security, were to be kept by the calvinists six years longer.

the houſes of Bethune, Melun, and Horn †. I added, that it was this conſideration alone which induced me to join Monſieur, and that only for a little time, after which nothing ſhould be able to prevent my following my inclinations, which were to attach myſelf ſolely to him; and that whenever he had the ſmalleſt occaſion for my ſervice, I ſhould leave Flanders at his firſt order. The king then entertained me with the predictions that had been made him, that he ſhould one day be king of France; and I, in my turn, informed him, that a great fortune had been foretold me. An early prepoſſeſſion in favour of theſe pretended prophecies had made me weak enough to give credit to them; but as for the king of Navarre, who was of opinion that religion ought to inſpire a contempt for thoſe evil prophets, as he called them, he had within his own mind an oracle more certain, which was a perfect knowledge of the perſon and character of Monſieur, and a ſagacity that opened almoſt futurity to him. "He will "deceive me, ſaid he, if he ever fulfils the expecta- "tions that are conceived of him: he has ſo little "courage, a heart ſo malignant and deceitful, a "body ſo ill made, ſo few graces in his converſa- "tion, ſuch want of dexterity in every kind of ex- "erciſe, that I cannot perſuade myſelf he will ever "perform any thing that is great." The king of Navarre had leiſure to ſtudy this prince thoroughly, during the time that they were kept priſoners together. His memory at this inſtant furniſhed him with an infinite number of particulars, that gave him room to believe, Monſieur would infallibly fail in an enterprize ſo noble and hazardous as that he had undertaken. Amongſt others he told me, that Monſieur flung himſelf againſt a pillar in running at the ring, and managed his horſe with ſo little ſkill, that he would have been thrown to the ground, had not

† Anne de Melun, the author's mother, was the daughter of Hugo, viſcount of Gand, and of Jane d'Horn.

his equery with great haſte and ſubtilty cut the reins of his horſe, and ſpared him the ſhame of ſo awkward a fall. That he ſucceeded no better in dancing, hunting, or any other exerciſe; and far from feeling a juſt conſciouſneſs of theſe natural defects, or of repairing them in ſome degree by an ingenuous modeſty, he ſecretly hated all who were more favoured by nature than himſelf; particularly the king of Navarre, who, on account of the preference the ladies gave him to Monſieur, tho' the brother of their king, and his having rivalled this prince in the favour of madam de Sauves *, and other court-quarrels of the ſame nature, became the object of his jealouſy and hate.

THESE little anecdotes with which he entertained me, tho' inconſiderable in themſelves, yet ceaſed to appear ſo, when the event fully juſtified the concluſions he drew from them. He concluded with telling me, that he plainly perceived Catherine had formed a deſign to exterminate the proteſtant party; and that he ſhould ſoon have occaſion for his faithful ſervants: then embracing me, he wiſhed me a happier journey than our leader's was likely to be. I threw myſelf at his feet, and kiſſing his hand, proteſted that I would ever be ready to ſhed the laſt drop of my blood in his ſervice. I quitted his preſence,

* ------ de Beaune of Samblancay, married to Simon de Fizes, baron of Sauves, counſellor, and firſt ſecretary of ſtate, who died November the 27th, 1579. She made this name well known by her gallantries. Her ſecond huſband was the marquis of Noirmoutier. "One night, ſays Matthieu the hiſtorian, when the duke of "Alençon was with her, the king of Navarre laid a ſnare for him, "ſo that as he came out, he fell againſt ſomething in his way, and "hurt one of his eyes. The next day the king of Navarre meeting "him, exclaimed, Heavens! what is the matter with your eye? "what accident has happened to it? The duke anſwered rudely, It "is nothing, a ſmall matter ſurpriſes you. The other continuing to "bemoan him, the duke being offended, advanced, and feigning to "jeſt, whiſpered in his ear, Whoever ſhall ſay I have got it where "you imagine, I will make him a liar. Souvray and Du Guaſt hin-"dered them from fighting." Vol. I. book vii. page 409.

to

to go and pay my reſpects to the queens; after which I took poſt for Roſny.

FROM hence I ſent Maignan, my equery, to Paris, to buy me ſome horſes. I have never ſince had any that equalled two which he brought me. One of them was a Spaniſh horſe; he was quite black, except a white ſpot on his right buttock. The other was a Sardinian horſe, to whom nature had given an inſtructive quality of defending his rider; for he would roll his eyes furiouſly, and ſpring upon the enemy with his mouth open, never quitting him till he had thrown him to the earth.

PART of the lands belonging to Monſieur extending to the neighbourhood of Roſny, I took occaſion from thence to draw ſome advantage from his offer, and aſked for the remainder of a wood, to be applied to my uſe; which was granted; and it produced me the ſum of forty thouſand franks. With this money, in fifteen days, I fitted out my whole troop, which was compoſed of eighty gentlemen; ſome of whom followed me diſintereſtedly, and others received only two hundred livres at moſt. With this train I went to join Monſieur, who waited for us in his caſtle of La-Fere, in Tartenois; from whence, after ſome time ſpent in deer-hunting, we marched to Saint Quentin, where all his troops were aſſembled.

THE Prince of Parma * ſurrounded Cambray with his whole army, and kept it blocked up. This afforded an occaſion for the braveſt amongſt us to ſignalize themſelves, and each one was deſirous of commanding the firſt party that ſhould be ſent to reconnoitre. This honour fell to me, by the diſpoſition into which Fervaques ‖, the quarter-maſter general, who was my relation and friend, had put the army: it procured me, however, no advantage, for I returned without having taken one priſoner, the beſiegers keeping all cloſe behind their lines, although I paſ-

* Alexander Farneſe, duke of Parma.
‖ William de Hauterſier de Fervaques.

ſed near enough to ſuſtain ſeveral diſcharges. The viſcount Turenne ſecretly rejoiced at my diſappointment, becauſe I had refuſed the offer he made to join me, if I would wait till the next day. He choſe out one hundred gentlemen, with whom he advanced towards Cambray, flattering himſelf that he ſhould perform no inconſiderable exploit. The event did not anſwer his expectations; this fine troop had the misfortune to be defeated by fourſcore or an hundred men belonging to the regiment of M. de Roubais *, of the houſe of Melun, who ſerved in the enemy's army. Ten or twelve of our party were made priſoners, amongſt whom were Ventadour ‡, and the viſcount Turenne himſelf.

MEAN time Monſieur advanced, with an intention to give battle to the enemy's general; but he poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly, that we durſt not attempt to force him, and the following night he raiſed the blockade, and retired towards Valenciennes, without the loſs of one ſoldier, leaving the paſs alſo ſo ſecurely guarded, that he was under no apprehenſion of being overtaken. Monſieur now entered Cambray, and was received with great magnificence by the governor, whoſe name was d'Inchy. Chateau Cambreſis refuſing to ſurrender, was taken by aſſault. Monſieur, willing at firſt to diſcover a gentleneſs that might conciliate the people's affections towards him, forbid, upon pain of ſevere puniſhments, any violence againſt the women, who are generally the miſerable victims of war; but fearing that theſe or-

* Robert de Melun, marquis of Roubais. The viſcount Turenne's deſign was to throw himſelf into Cambray. See his Memoirs, page 311, and following. It is obſerved there, that he choſe rather to be priſoner to the prince de Robecque, general of the Spaniſh cavalry, than to the king of Spain: which was the cauſe that he was detained two years and ten months; for Spain feared, that after Robecque had received the money for the viſcount's ranſom, which was fifty-three thouſand crowns, he would quit its ſervice.

‡ Anne de Levis, afterwards duke of Ventadour, knight of the king's orders, governor of Limoſin, and lieutenant-general in Languedoc. He died in 1622.

ders

ders would not be sufficient to restrain the soldiers' brutality, any more than the plague with which the fort was infected, he gave them the churches for asylums, and placed guards about them. A very beautiful young girl threw herself into my arms as I was walking in the streets, and holding me fast, conjured me to guard her from some soldiers, who, she said, concealed themselves as soon as they saw me. I endeavoured to calm her fears, and offered to conduct her to the next church; but she told me she had been there, and asked for admittance, which they refused, because they knew she had the plague. My blood froze in my veins at this declaration, and anger renewing my strength, I thrust this girl from my arms, who exposed me to death, to save her, when she carried, in my opinion, her security about her; and flying away as fast as I was able, expected every moment to be seized with the plague.

MONSIEUR having attacked the passages of Arleux, and l'Ecluse, I took some prisoners there, whom I sent back without ransom, as soon as I was informed that they belonged to the marquis de Roubais, my cousin. Roubais, who was not ignorant of my just pretensions to the estates of the viscount de Gand, which he had usurped, received this generosity very ill. "By heaven, said he, these civilities are very "fine; but if he is taken, he brings his ransom "along with him." I had reason to be apprehensive of this misfortune, and it would actually have happened to me two days after, at the attack of a wall, if Sesseval, by a very seasonable charge, had not extricated me from the danger.

THE prince of Parma having divided his army in the Low Countries, Monsieur returned to Cambray, where he was guilty of an artifice towards d'Inchy, very unworthy of a great prince, whose word ought always to be so inviolable, that no person should have a thought of suspecting his integrity. He had

invited himself to dinner with this governor, who was at an excessive expence to receive him in the citadel, in a manner suitable to his high rank. D'Inchy invited above sixty of us to attend this prince, and treated us all with equal greatness and magnificence. During the repast, he was told that Monsieur's guards presented themselves at the gates; d'Inchy, thinking he should fail in the most essential part of his reception of Monsieur, if he sent them back, gave orders for their admittance, and every one else that came in that prince's name, who, he said, was sole master in the castle. He spoke indeed prophetically, tho' he did not think so at the time; for so many made use of this privilege, that our party became at last the strongest, and Monsieur's guards disarming those of M. d'Inchy, seized upon the castle. This exploit was wholly the contrivance of Monsieur, who relied on that sincerity in the governor, which he himself was not possessed of. As soon as d'Inchy was sensible of his misfortune, he complained bitterly of it to Monsieur, who answered him only with an insulting smile upon the accent of his country, which was Picardy; and obliging him to quit the castle, which he gave to Balagny *, thought he made d'Inchy sufficient amends by the gift of the town and duchy of Chateau-Thierry; but that gentleman, who perceived the difference between what was given him, and what he had been deprived of, resigned himself up to despair, and seeking death found it soon after in a skirmish.

After this Monsieur returned to France, notwithstanding the intreaties of the inhabitants of the Low Countries to the contrary, who assured him, that after five or six fortresses more were taken, the only important ones that remained, all Flanders would submit to him. His design in going to France was to make preparations for his voyage to England,

* John de Montluc, natural son of John de Montluc, bishop of Valence; he is mentioned hereafter.

whither

whither he went a little time after. The reception he met with from queen Elizabeth*, and the engagement he contracted with her, having been mentioned by all the hiſtorians, I ſhall take no notice of them here, though I attended him in this voyage. From England Monſieur again returned to Zealand; flattered with a thouſand agreeable hopes. He came to Lillo †, and afterwards to Antwerp, where he was crowned duke of Brabant by the prince of Orange, aſſiſted by the prince Dauphin ‡, and all the nobility of the Low Countries, who expreſſed their joy on this occaſion, a thouſand different ways. This affection of the Dutch towards Monſieur had but a ſhort duration. The prince of Orange, who only was more beloved by the people than him, was wounded in his chamber by a piſtol ſhot ‖. The populace, who thought none but the French could be guilty of this action, mutinied, and would have fallen upon them; and Monſieur could find ſecurity no where but in the houſe of the wounded perſon, whither he fled for refuge. When the true author of this intended aſſaſſination § was diſcovered, there was no ſort of excuſes or atonements which the burgeſſes

* It is well known that the queen of England allowed ſeveral of the princes of Europe to flatter themſelves in this manner with hopes of marrying her; and whether policy, or reaſons purely natural, was the cauſe that ſhe never came to any concluſion, is a queſtion not eaſy to decide. Monſieur went to England in the winter of 1581, and returned to Flanders the ſpring following. See an account of this voyage, and of all the negotiations concerning this marriage at length, in the Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. page 474, 603.

† A fort upon the Scheld.

‡ Francis of Bourbon, ſon to the duke of Montpenſier.

‖ The 18th of March 1582, by John de Jaureguy. The ball went quite through his jaw. The aſſaſſin was taken by the ſoldiers of the prince of Orange, who ruſhed in at the noiſe, juſt as he was drawing his poignard to diſpatch him. Chron. Piaſicki.

§ By the papers that were found in his pocket, he was known to be a Spaniard; this it was that appeaſed the people, who were ready to put all the French to the ſword. Mem. d'Aubery du Maurier. The people ran about the ſtreet, crying, Behold, this is the marriage of Paris, let us kill theſe murderers. Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. to the end.

did

did not offer to Monſieur for the injuſtice of their ſuſpicions, and the revolt they had occaſioned; but this outrage made a deep impreſſion on his heart, and he reſolved within himſelf to take a ſignal revenge for it. The prince of Orange was not a man that could be eaſily deceived; he began from that moment to be upon his guard; for he perceived the reſentment with which he was fired, and the rooted hatred he bore to proteſtants in general.

As for me, I had already received perſonal proofs of it; which, added to other cauſes of complaint that were given me by Monſieur, abſolutely diſguſted me with his ſervice. At firſt I attached myſelf ſolely to his perſon, and to pleaſe him ſpared neither labour nor expence; I thought therefore that I might ſolicit his intereſt with regard to my pretenſions to the eſtate of the viſcount de Gand, which reverted to me. He received my requeſt very coldly, put me off with delays, and at laſt, when I preſt him one day on the ſubject, he told me very cavalierly, that he could not gratify two perſons at the ſame time; and that my couſin * the prince of Epinoy had obtained, without any trouble, what I had laboured for with ſo much aſſiduity. There was ſomething in this anſwer more diſobliging than the refuſal itſelf; I was ſenſibly affected with it, and a few days after had a convincing proof of the little ſhare myſelf, and the other proteſtant officers had in his favour, when I heard him ſay publicly, that he had juſt baniſhed d'Avantigny from his council, the laſt of the proteſtants to whom he confided his ſecrets, and he was now perfectly eaſy. From that time I reſolved to quit this ungrateful prince; and while I waited for an opportunity to return into France, applied myſelf to gain the favour of the prince of Orange, in whom I found all thoſe qualities in which Monſieur was deficient. I remember, a few days before

* Robert de Melun prince of Epinoy, ſon to the marquis of Richebourg.

the

the treacherous attempt upon Antwerp, that I was at this prince's palace with Sainte Aldegonde †, and a minister named Villiers; when, speaking of Monsieur and the catholics, by whom he was governed, he said, "These men have designs pernicious both "for themselves and us, in which, it is my opinion, "they will not find their account; and I intreat "you, sir, added he, turning to me, not to go far "from my lodgings." He thought very justly; and his diligence finishing what his foresight had begun, Monsieur suffered the double reproach of unsuccessful treachery ‡.

HAVING assembled his army in the plain, under pretence of reviewing it, he went out of Antwerp one day in February, and ordered his soldiers to enter the city again by those gates that were at his disposal, and to make themselves masters of it by force. Accordingly his men threw themselves into Antwerp, as into a city taken by assault, crying out, "Kill, kill, the city is ours; mass for ever." But their triumph lasted not long: the prince of Orange, who carefully observed every step of Monsieur's, gave such good orders every where, or rather caused those he had long before given, to be so well executed, that Monsieur's soldiers were all either repulsed, cut in pieces, or forced to throw themselves off the walls; for their terror was so great, that those who could not get at the gates, because of the great number of carcases that obstructed their way, had recourse to that dreadful expedient. I had mounted my horse two hours after noon, to go and join Monsieur in the field; but before I had got out of the city, the loud shouts of the assailants struck my ears,

† Philip Marnix, lord of Sainte Aldegonde.

‡ About that time the same attempt was made, by Monsieur's orders, on the principal cities of Flanders; the plot succeeded upon Dunkirk, Dixmude, and Dendermonde, but failed upon Bruges, Ostend, Nieuport, &c. De Thou, book lxxvii. The duke of Montpensier, and the marshal Biron endeavoured in vain to dissuade Monsieur from this enterprize. Matthieu, ibid.

and

and in the ſame moment I met the prince of Orange, who deſired me and ſome other French gentlemen of the reformed religion, who were with me, to retire to his lodgings. As Frenchmen we could not expect to be ſafe at that time in the city, and, as huguenots, we had every thing to fear from the French army, who had taken poſſeſſion of it. We followed his advice, therefore, and he returned to us as ſoon as he had reſtored quiet to the city. The care he took to pacify the Dutch, and prevail upon them to forget a behaviour ſo inexcuſable, is a proof that he bore with regret, and only in his own defence, an action which no Frenchman diſapproved of. It was not his fault that the proteſtant party in Flanders was not reconciled to Monſieur; and as for us, as ſoon as he knew we intended to join this prince, he put us into a condition to do it without danger.

We found ourſelves greatly perplexed in the neighbourhood of Mechlin, whoſe inhabitants, by opening their ſluices, had formed a large marſh. Four or five thouſand foot, and as many horſe of Monſieur's army, periſhed there by cold and hunger, in a moſt rigorous ſeaſon. Monſieur, however, ſtaid five or ſix months in Flanders after this fatal enterprize: but his army had been ſo conſiderably leſſened, and the remainder ſo broken with fatigue, the cities ſo well guarded, and, to compleat his misfortunes, the prince of Parma returned with an army ſo vaſtly ſuperior to his, that he was at laſt obliged to go back to France with the duke de Montpenſier, and the marechal de Biron, leaving nothing behind him in the Low Countries but the rememberance of a name juſtly deteſtable.

A prince who has not prudence enough to conceal his hatred of perſons whoſe ſervices become neceſſary to him, muſt be unhappy; but this muſt be owned, to the advantage of virtue, that it ſecures, by the moſt infallible means, the ſucceſs of all great enterprizes. Wiſdom, equity, diſcipline, order, courage, good fortune; qualities which ſucceed each other in the order they are mentioned, form the chain

of

of action in truly great men. The proceedings of those who unjustly arrogate to themselves that title, offer, on the contrary, nothing but rashness and obstinacy, the companions of blind ambition. A vain confidence in their talents, presumptuous dependence on their good fortune; all consequences of flattery, which generally enslaves no persons so much, as those false heroes who think themselves born to subject the whole world.

I COULD not resolve to leave Flanders without viewing those places where my ancestors were born; and having procured a passport from the count of Barlaymont *, I went to Bassée, to visit madam de Mastin, my aunt. She received me as a nephew whom she had disinherited, because he neither believed in God nor his saints, and worshipped the devil. This notion father Silvester, a cordelier, a famous preacher, and this lady's director, had thought proper to give her of all protestants; and she took it upon his word. She carried me with her to see an abbey she had founded; and as she was shewing me some fine tombs of my ancestors, which she had caused to be erected there, took occasion to speak to me on the subject of my faith. If I was astonished to hear her utter these extravagant whims that father Silvester had put into her head, she was no less surprized to hear me repeat the creed, and all those prayers which we use in common with the roman catholics. With her reason, nature was also awakened; her great simplicity was the cause of the little tenderness she had shewn me. She embraced me with tears in her eyes, and promised me not only the certain succession to her estates, but also engaged to get those of the viscount de Gand restored to me. This at the time was her sincere intention; but father Silvester, no doubt, found better reasons to prevent the effect of those good designs, for none of them were ever executed.

* Claude de Barlaymont, lord of Hautepenne.

I HAD

I HAD an earneſt deſire to ſee the city of Bethune, the country, and ancient inheritance of my anceſtors, who for a long time were in poſſeſſion of very conſiderable eſtates there. The treachery Monſieur had uſed towards the city of Antwerp, rendered all the other cities of the Low Countries ſuſpicious; they would not ſuffer me to enter Bethune till I had ſhewn my paſſport, declared my name, and convinced them I came from madam de Maſtin; which produced an effect I little expected: I had taken the road to an inn, whoſe ſign was the coronet of the family of Bethune, when I ſaw a platoon of foot approach, that gave me ſome apprehenſions. It was, however, the burgeſſes of the city, who, full of reſpect for the blood of their ancient lords, no ſooner heard my name, than they reſolved to pay me all poſſible honours, and brought me a preſent of wine, and other refections. Before I left this city, I viſited and examined with great exactneſs, and a ſecret pleaſure, all the public and private monuments which preſerved to poſterity the rememberance of the benefits my anceſtors conferred on this city, and its gratitude for them.

HAVING nothing more to detain me in Flanders, I returned to France, and took the direct road to Roſny, which I left immediately, and went to Guyenne, full of joy to meet again the king of Navarre after ſo long an abſence. This prince's reception of me was ſuch as left me no room to doubt that my return was very acceptable to him. He obliged me to relate all my adventures, and thoſe of Monſieur, and when I had finiſhed, "Well, ſaid he to "me, is not this the accompliſhment of all I pre- "dicted of this prince, in my converſation with "you at Coutras; but the viſcount de Turenne, "whom I diſſuaded as much as poſſible from fol- "lowing him, has ſucceeded much worſe than "you."

MONSIEUR'S

MONSIEUR's expedition into the Low Countries had enraged the king of Spain to such a degree, as to make him endeavour to gain the king of Navarre's friendship, and offer him supplies for renewing the war with the royalists of France. This proposition he received at Hagemau, whither he went to visit the countess of Guiche *; for his passion for this lady was then at its height. The distrust Henry always entertained of Spain, and his natural antipathy to that court, prevented his giving any credit to it. I will not take upon me to answer for the sincerity of the Spaniards in these offers, which were made him at different times by Bernardin de Mandoce, the chevalier Moreau, and Calderon; however, I believe there were some intervals, in which the king of Spain dealt faithfully with the king of Navarre †. But be that as it will, the king of Navarre gave no answer to this proposition, and made no other use of it than to convince the king and queen-mother of the justice of his designs. He sent me therefore to Paris, to inform them of the step which Spain had taken.

THERE was no longer any access to be had to the king; he had retired to Vincennes, where he saw none but his favourites, and the ministers of his pleasures. I expected to have been introduced to

* Diana, or Corisande Dandoins, viscountess of Louvigny, &c. wife, and afterwards widow of Philibert count of Grammont. In the observations upon the amours of Alcander the great, this lady is said to have sent Henry IV. three or four and twenty thousand Gascons levied at her own expence. It is also mentioned there, that she had a son named Antony, whom that prince offered to acknowledge for his own; but the young man replied, that he chose rather to be considered as a gentleman, than the bastard of a king. Journal of Henry the third's reign, p. 270.

† That which induced him to believe this, was, that to this letter of the king of Spain's, presented to the king of Navarre by the chevalier Moreau, or the commandeur Morrée, as Davila calls him, book ii. was added an offer of fifty thousand crowns, made by the same chevalier to the viscount de Chaux, on the frontier of Bearn, to maintain the king of Navarre's army; provided he would turn his arms against France. Mem. of the league, Vol. V.

him

him by the queen of Navarre; for this princeſs, whoſe temper could not agree with that of the king her huſband, had ‡ left him to return to the court of France: but I learnt from madam de Bethune, that ſhe was on no better terms with the queen her mother, and the king her brother. I then had recourſe to madam de Sauves, who procured me an audience of Catherine. The affair ſeemed to her to be important, ſhe mentioned it to the king, and a negotiation was begun there. I even obtained from his majeſty a credential letter to the king of Navarre; but what reliance ought one to have on the determinations of a court, that, as it ſhould ſeem, never formed a good deſign that was not immediately repented of? The queen-mother thought fit to make no other uſe of the king of Navarre's confidence, than to enter into a ſtricter union with Spain: which came to Henry's knowledge by the reproaches the king of Spain made him, for having betrayed his ſecret.

THE bad reception Monſieur met with at his return from Flanders, was one effect of this reconciliation with Spain. This prince retired to Chateau-Thierry, oppreſſed with grief. After my deputation was finiſhed, being at home, and engaged in no employment, curioſity led me to viſit Monſieur at Chateau-Thierry. I imagined his bad fortune would have made him wiſer; but it had only abated his pride. He received me with a kindneſs that I was far from thinking diſintereſted, and from which I immediately concluded, he had ſome great deſigns in his head. The advantageous offers made me in his name by Aurilly, who had procured me the honour of kiſſing his hand, convinced me I was not

‡ From that time they always lived ſeparate, notwithſtanding the reproaches which Henry III. often made the king of Navarre on that occaſion, and ſome others that are mentioned by l'Etoile. One day, when the latter received ſome very ſharp letters from Henry III. "The king, ſaid he, in all his letters, honours me greatly; for by "the firſt he calls me C---, and by the laſt the ſon of P---.

miſtaken;

miſtaken; but, amidſt the great projects § with which Monſieur was intoxicated, I diſcovered a melancholy and ſecret diſcontent that preyed upon his heart, and which nothing could remove. From hence proceeded that languiſhing diſorder, which ſome time after put an end to all his ambitious deſigns by death ‖.

At my return to Paris, I received an order from the king of Navarre to come to him upon ſome very important affairs. He was endeavouring to diſconcert, if poſſible, all the enterprizes of the league; a deſign, which this wiſe prince had always in view. He had occaſion for a perſon, on whoſe probity he could rely, to reſide at the court of France, and ſtudy all its motions; and it was to charge me with this commiſſion, that he had commanded my attendance. He communicated his reflections to me, gave me all the neceſſary inſtructions, and when I took leave of him, embraced me ſeveral times, ſaying, "My friend, remember, that the firſt quality in a "man of true courage and worth, is to keep his "word inviolably; that which I have given to you, "I will never fail in." There was no neceſſity for racking my invention, to furniſh me with a pretence for this ſecond journey to Paris. The favour in which I had left my two younger brothers * at that court, afforded me a very plauſible one. They had

§ Monſieur took the titles of ſon of France, by the grace of God, duke of Lauthier, of Brabant, Luxembough, Guelderland, Alençon, Anjou, Tourain, Berry, Evreux, and Chateau-Thierry, count of Flanders, of Holland, Zealand, Zulphen, Maine, Perche, Mante, Meulan, and Beauford, marquis of the holy Roman empire, lord of Frieſland, and Mechlin, defender of the Belgic liberty. Hercules was the name that was given him at his baptiſm, but when he was confirmed, it was changed to Francis.

‖ There is not any hiſtorian who doubts that he died by poiſon. His blood ran through all his pores, as if every vein had been burſt. De Thou, book lxxviii. "This happened, ſays the Memoirs of Ne-"vers, by his having lain with La --- who made him ſmell a poiſon-"ed noſegay." Ibid. p. 163. Buſbeq. Ep. 33, 35.

* Solomon and Philip de Bethune. The firſt as eldeſt, was called baron of Roſny, and was governor of Mante. The ſecond has form-

ed

begun to create jealousy in the favourites, for the king already made them his companions in his parties of devotion, which was a step that was likely to lead them to the greatest familiarity; however, on my arrival, I learned that they were disgraced; the reason of which I did not know till a long time after, and it is of the number of those things * that ought to be buried in oblivion. This accident did not hinder me from entering upon my new employment at Paris, and the court. I gave the king of Navarre exact intelligence of all that passed, that he might take such measures as were most suitable to the state of his affairs.

ENGAGED in this new kind of life, which obliged me by the nature of the employment I had undertaken, to frequent the court, to mix in the politest company of the city, to share in their amusements, their pleasures, and even to be infected with their idleness; and being besides in the prime and strength of my age, it is not strange that I should pay the accustomed tribute to love. I became violently enamoured of the daughter of the president de St. Mesmin, one of the most beautiful ladies in France.

AT first, I wholly abandoned myself to a passion, which, in the beginning, is so delightful, that when I would have stifled it afterwards, upon reflecting that this alliance was not convenient for me, I found that consideration too weak, when opposed to the friendship this whole family expressed for me, the esteem of a father truly respectable, and the charms of a mistress worthy my tendereſt affection. My own endeavours alone would not have been sufficient to have broken this chain. La Fond †, to

ed the branch of the counts of Selles and Charost. By attaching themselves to the person and party of the king of France, they both abjured the protestant religion, in which they had been educated.

* Those who are curious to know it, need only consult the seventh chapter of the Confession of Sancy.

† La Fond was his valet de chambre. He is mentioned in another place.

divert

divert the course of my thoughts, proposed to me to visit mademoiselle de Courtenay ‡, whom he earnestly wished I would make my addresses to, as a person who, in all respects, was much more suitable to me. I saw her, and approved this choice; but mademoiselle de St. Mesmin soon destroyed all these wise reflections.

Being one day at Nogent upon the Seine, attended by this la Fond, and some other persons, I went to lodge at an inn, whither chance had conducted both mademoiselle de St. Mesmin, and mademoiselle de Courtenay, which I learnt the moment I entered the inn. This was one of the most delicate conjunctures imaginable, and I judged it would be impossible to leave the place without breaking for ever with that lady of the two, to whom I should neglect to pay my first visit and assiduities. In a case of this nature, no artifice, no address can satisfy two women at the same time.

Mademoiselle de St. Mesmin's youngest sister coming down stairs at that moment, found me absorbed in reflection, like a man that was labouring to reconcile his reason with his love. She perceived it, and my confusion affording her a fine opportunity to display the vivacity of her wit, she endeavoured to draw me to her sister's feet; when la Fond approaching me, whisper'd in my ear, "Turn to the right, "monsieur: there you will find a large estate, a "royal extraction, and equal beauty, when it shall "have attained to the age of perfection." These few words, so seasonably uttered, recalled my scattered reason, and fixed my wavering purpose. I was convinced the advice la Fond gave me was good, and that the only difference between the beauty of mademoiselle de Courtenay and her rival, was, that the one was already in the possession of charms, which a year or two more promised the other. I

‡ Anne de Courtenay, youngest daughter of Francis d'Courtenay, lord of Bontin.

sent

ſent an excuſe for not attending mademoiſelle de St. Meſmin, which drew upon me great reproaches; but I courageouſly ſuſtained the aſſault, and went immediately after to viſit mademoiſelle de Courtenay, who valued this ſacrifice at its full price. She was pleaſed with the preference; and I applauded myſelf for it, when I conſidered my new miſtreſs with more attention, and that a few viſits more had given me a perfect knowledge of her character. My addreſſes were favorably received, and a ſhort time after this adventure, we were married ‖.

THE tenderneſs and aſſiduity due to an amiable bride, detained me in Roſny this whole year, amidſt rural employments, exerciſes, and diverſions; another kind of life not leſs new to me than the former. The country, to thoſe whoſe time has been divided between the court and the field, is generally an occaſion of double expence; but it affords many reſources to a man, who knows that good œconomy ſupplies the place of great riches. My turn for fine horſes, which I had cultivated merely for my pleaſure, did not make up a uſeleſs part of this domeſtic œconomy. I kept jockeys in my ſervice, whom I ſent to buy horſes in foreign countries, where they were cheap, and ſold them in Gaſcony, at the king of Navarre's court, where I never failed to draw large ſums for them. I remember to have ſold, amongſt others, a ſilver roan-horſe to the viſcount de Chartres, for ſix hundred crowns, which coſt me but forty. The tapeſtry that adorns the hall of Sully, in which are delineated the labours of Hercules, came from M. de Nemours de la Garnache, who paid me with that for a fine Spaniſh horſe that I had ſold to him at the rate of twelve hundred crowns.

TOWARDS the end of this year §, a letter from the king of Navarre drew me from a life ſo inactive:

‖ Guy de Bethune, ſon of Alpin de Bethune, great grandfather of M. de Roſny, had married one Frances de Courtenay Bontin.

§ The peace continuing in force till the following year, the Memoirs

he informed me, that the time in which he had foreſeen that the aſſiſtance of his faithful ſervants would be neceſſary, was now come: that the ſtate and our religion were threatened with the ſevereſt misfortunes, if immediate endeavours were not uſed to prevent them; and that he ſhould ſoon have a cruel war to ſuſtain. I inſtantly diſpoſed myſelf to attend this prince, taking with me, as well for his occaſions, as my own, forty-eight thouſand francs, which I raiſed by the ſale of a wood of high trees, that was cut down for that purpoſe.

In effect, the bold enterprizes of the league* broke out this year. One cannot reflect without

moirs of this and the preceding contain little concerning the king of Navarre. Le Grain relates the adventure that happened to him with captain Michau, who pretended to have quitted the ſervice of Spain, for that of this prince, in order to find ſome opportunity of murdering him treacherouſly. "One day, ſays he, when the king of Navarre was hunting in the foreſts of Aillas, he perceived Michau "juſt behind him, well mounted, with a couple of piſtols cocked "and primed. The king was alone and unattended, it being cuſtomary for hunters to ſeparate; and ſeeing him approach, "Captain "Michau, ſaid he to him, with a bold and determined air, diſmount; "I have a mind to make trial of your horſe, that I may know if it "be as good a one as you ſay it is." The captain obeyed, and "diſmounting, the king got upon his horſe, and taking the piſtols, "Do you deſign to ſhoot me with one of theſe? ſaid he: I am told, "you intend to kill me, but in the mean time I can kill you if I "pleaſe." Saying this, he diſcharged the two piſtols in the air, "and commanded the captain to follow him. Michau, having good "reaſons to deſire to be excuſed, took leave of him two days after, "and never after appeared." Decade of Henry the great, book viii. Buſbeq, who at that time reſided at Paris, in the quality of ambaſſador from the emperor Rodolphus II. aſſures us alſo, in his letters, that a deſerter, whom he does not name, adminiſtered poiſon to the king of Navarre; but that this prince, either by the ſtrength of his conſtitution, or the weakneſs of the poiſon, felt no bad effects from it: and adds, that this ſame man having attempted afterwards to ſhoot him with a piſtol, and failed, was taken and put to the torture; and that it was known, by the behaviour of Henry III. upon this occaſion, that he had no part in the deſigned aſſaſſination. Epiſtle 46.

* The firſt ſtep which diſcovered the deſigns of the league, was an aſſociation of princes, prelates, and gentlemen of Picardy, who met at Peronne, to avoid obeying the edict of ſixty-three articles, given in the year 1576, in favour of the proteſtants. The manifeſto that was there drawn up, ſerved for a model to all the other provinces, and even to the ſtates of Blois, which were ſummoned about the end

horror, that in leſs than four years, ten royal armies fell upon the king of Navarre, when the danger that equally threatened the two kings was turned againſt him alone, through the weakneſs of

of that year, and whoſe reſolutions obliged Henry III. to declare himſelf the head of the catholics againſt the huguenots, that he might not leave this title to be aſſumed by the duke of Guiſe. At firſt, they talked only of maintaining the catholic religion alone in the kingdom, but at length a debate concerning the ſucceſſion to the crown was introduced, in which they brought the pope and king of Spain. See the form of theſe aſſociations in the MS. volume marked 8826, in the king's library, p. 160. The conſpiracy of the nobility of Normandy, with the oath to preſerve the catholic religion in France, and the crown to the houſe of Valois, ſee in vol. 8832. p. 5. All this volume is likewiſe filled with Memoirs relating to the league, and the firſt ſtates of Blois. See alſo the treaty of the league made with the king of Spain at the caſtle of Joinville, and ſigned by the reſpective parties, with many other pieces on the ſame ſubject, vol. 8866. All, or part of theſe pieces, with very curious circumſtances relating to the ſame ſubject, may be found in different authors, ſuch as the Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. Memoirs of the league, vol. I. Memoirs of ſtate by Villeroy, vol. II. De Thou, book lxiii. and lxxxi. D'Aubigné, vol. II. book iii. chap. 3. Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. and viii. Le Novennaire de Cayet, vol. I. at the beginning; and many others. Many perſons believe the origin of the league to be much more ancient, and that it took its riſe in the council of Trent, through the endeavours of the cardinal of Lorrain, the uncle; during which Francis duke of Guiſe on his ſide formed the plan of it in France; but the death of the latter ſuſpended the effect. 'Tis pretended alſo, that Don John of Auſtria paſſing through France, in his way to Flanders, concerted the ſcheme with the duke of Guiſe. The college of Forteret has paſſed for the cradle of the league. 'Tis ſaid that an advocate, named David, carried the Memoirs to Rome; and that theſe Memoirs, which may be read in the firſt volume of the Memoirs of the league, being intercepted by the huguenots, gave them the firſt certainty of it. Some perſons have doubted whether this advocate, who died in his journey to Rome, or, as others ſay, in his return thence, did not treat with the pope by his own motion, and agreeably to his own opinion: which is not leſs probable. As for Henry III. he certainly deſerves all the reproaches which the duke of Sully here caſts upon him. He had undeniable proofs of his enemies deſigns upon the royal authority; to whom, when he broke the edict of pacification in 1577, he ſaid aloud theſe words, "I am much afraid, that by our endeavours to ſuppreſs calviniſm, we ſhall bring "the maſs into danger." We are aſſured, that all the ſecrets of the league were diſcovered by a gentleman named la Rochette, to whom they were entruſted, and who ſuffered himſelf to be taken on purpoſe, that he might reveal them without danger. In a word, 'tis alſo certain, that the duke of Guiſe began to raiſe the ſtandard of his party in the year 1585, when he was ſtill ſo weak, that he could not depend

Henry III. who allowed his own enemies to give laws to him, and conducted himself the hand that fought to overthrow his authority.

Henry III. perceiving the league would publicly raise the standard of revolt, waked a little from the lethargy into which he had been plunged, and thought proper to send the duke de Joyeuse ‡ into Normandy, to oppose the duke d'Elbœuf §, who kept an army there, which the league made use of to extort the famous edict of July †, wherein all the huguenots were ordered, either to go to mass, or to leave the kingdom in six months.

Joyesue, who had my two brothers in his army, passed by Rosny, and prevailed upon me, without much difficulty, to go with him: by attacking the league, the friends of the king of Navarre entered into his true interests. I gave him the best reception in my power, but nothing charmed him so much as the beauty of my horses.

Lavardin likewise took his way through Rosny, but went to lodge at the extremity of the town. Chicot ‡, who would always give free scope to his hu-

pend upon more than four thousand foot and a thousand horse. Beauvais Nangis also (and he relates it himself in his Memoirs) asked him one day what he intended to do if the king should come to attack him: "I will retire immediately to Germany, replied the duke, and there "wait for a more favourable opportunity."

* Anne duke of Joyeuse, the eldest of seven sons of William of Joyeuse. § Claude of Lorrain.

† This was the treaty of Nemours, the triumph of the league, and the disgrace of Henry III. Henry IV. told the marquis de la Force, in the presence of Matthieu, who relates it in his eighth book, that the moment he was informed of this shameful weakness of the king of France, his mustaches turned suddenly white on that side of his face, which he supported with his hand. Sixtus the fifth appeared ashamed himself; and by the same bull of September the 5th, 1585, wherein he excommunicated all that assisted the huguenots, he likewise excommunicated those who undertook any thing against the king and kingdom. He foresaw at that time all the miseries that would befall France. See these articles of Nemours, and the proceedings of the league in France and Rome, vol. I. of the Memoirs of Nevers, p. 661, and following.

‖ Chicot was a Gascon, brave, rich, and a buffoon. At the siege of Rouen, he wounded Henry of Lorrain, count of Chaligny, in the

mour, resolved to divert himself at Lavardin's expence, whom he called a madman; and sending for him one day, told him with a mysterious air, that that devil of a huguenot (meaning me) certainly intended to keep the deaf man (a nickname he gave likewise to the duke of Joyeuse) prisoner. Lavardin, without reflecting that this attempt would be useless, though it had not been ridiculous, armed himself immediately, with all his domestics, and came with them in bravado before my door; where he was obliged to bear the railleries of the whole company, who did not spare him.

WHAT I am now going to say, will hardly appear credible. We set out together, and had scarcely reached Verneuil, when the duke of Joyeuse received a packet from court, which informed him, that the king had concluded a peace with the league, and that it was his majesty's intention, that the army, which two days ago was to support him against the league *, should be led against the king of Navarre.

thigh; and taking him prisoner, presented him to Henry IV. saying, "Here, keep what I give thee." The count, enraged at being taken by a fool, gave him a blow on the head with the hilt of his sword, which killed him. He used to say whatever he pleased to the king, without giving him any offence. When the duke of Parma came to France, Chicot said to the king, before all the courtiers, "My "friend, I see very well that all you do will signify nothing, un- "less you either turn catholic, or pretend you are one." Another time he said to him, "I am convinced that to be peaceably king of "France, you would give both papists and huguenots to Lucifer's "clerk; so true it is, that you kings have no religion but in appear- "ance." "I am not surprized," said he another time to his majesty, "that so many persons desire to be kings: it is a good trade, "and by working at it only an hour in a day, one may make suffi- "cient provision for the rest of the week, without being obliged to "one's neighbours; but for God's sake, my friend, take care and "keep out of the hands of the leaguers, for if you should fall into "some of them, they would hang you up like a hog's gut, and write "upon your gibbet, At the crown of France and Navarre, are good "lodgings to be lett." Memoirs for the history of France, vol. II. p. 72.

* The king was obliged to it at Châlons by the leaguers, who were assembled there. He scarcely excused himself to the king of Navarre, upon the necessity he was driven to. This prince and the queen

Joyeuſe, in relating this to me, added, "Well! "monſieur le baron de Roſny, this ſtroke will give "me a cheap bargain of your fine horſes, for the "war is declared againſt the proteſtants: but I per- "ſuade myſelf, continued he, that you will not be "ſo ſimple as to join the king of Navarre, and by "embarking in a cauſe that will infallibly be ruin- "ed, loſe your fine eſtate of Roſny."

THE duke might have ſpoken much longer with- out interruption; for although I was ſufficiently ac- quainted with the court, ſo that nothing from that quarter could ſurprize me, yet I could not reflect, without aſtoniſhment, upon thoſe difficulties through which fortune ſeemed to take a pleaſure in leading the king of Navarre, before ſhe conducted him to that greatneſs which was deſtined for him; for I was always perſuaded of this in my own mind, and the predictions of la Broſſe were continually preſent to me. My anſwer, therefore, to Joyeuſe, turned wholly upon theſe preſages; after which I quitted him abruptly. This ſtep might appear a little ex- travagant to him; and I have been informed, that he ſaid to thoſe about him, "There goes a conſummate "fool; but he will be finely deluded by his "ſorcerer."

I RETURNED to my houſe, from whence I ſet out again immediately, after taking ſome meaſures con- formable to the ſudden change which had ſo lately happened. I went directly to Guienne, where the king of Navarre was, and ſtaid with him four or five months, during which he was employed in making preparations againſt the ſtorm that was burſting up- on him. He carried me with him to Montauban,

queen his mother ſuffered themſelves to be unſeaſonably intimidated by the threats of the league, whoſe forces were exaggerated, although it would not have been difficult to have deſtroyed them in the begin- ning. The council miſſed an opportunity of uniting the Low Coun- tries to the crown, by ſending back the deputies from thoſe provinces, without an anſwer, who came to offer the ſovereignty of them to the king; provided he would march with his troops on that ſide. Thus were two great errors committed at one time. De Thou, book lxxxi.

where he held ſeveral conferences with the proteſtants upon the part it was neceſſary they ſhould take in this conjuncture. Unhappily for them, upon this occaſion, when all was at ſtake, they did not underſtand their true intereſt ſufficiently, at leaſt ſo as to oblige them to a perfect union amongſt themſelves, and a faithful concurrence in the ſame deſigns. From that time, ſome of the principal leaders thought more of their own advancement than the king's, without conſidering that their fortunes were ſo cloſely connected with his, that if he failed, it would be impoſſible for them to ſucceed. Each was for building a fortune for himſelf, independent of the general plan.

This diſunion of minds ſhewed itſelf more apparently in a private conference held at St. Paul de Lamiate *, where audience was given to a doctor of divinity, named Butrick, ſent thither by the elector Palatine. It was there that the viſcount de Turenne gave the firſt indications of that turbulent, falſe, and ambitious ſpirit, which formed his character. He had, in concert with this Butrick, projected a new ſyſtem † of government, into which they had drawn monſieurs de Conſtans, d'Aubigné, de St. Germain-Beaupré, de St. Germain de Clan, de Brezolles, and others. They wanted to form the calviniſt part of France into a kind of republican ſtate, under the protection of the elector Palatine; and five or ſix lieutenants in his name were to be ſent into the different provinces.

If we examine this project, it will eaſily appear, that the king of Navarre was but little obliged to

* In the biſhopric of Caſtres.

† The hiſtorian who gives us the life of the duke of Bouillon, does not deny that theſe were the views of this calviniſt nobleman. He was a very able politician, extremely ambitious, paſſionately deſirous of the quality of leader of the calviniſts of France, and very capable of filling that poſt. This is all that can be ſaid of him, to ſoften thoſe terms, rather too ſevere, which monſieur de Sully frequently makes uſe of in theſe Memoirs, when he ſpeaks of the duke of Bouillon.

theſe

these gentlemen, since by this plan they blended the princes of the blood with the officers of the protestant party, and reduced them all to the quality of lieutenants under a petty foreign prince. This was not the only time that the king of Navarre found secret enemies in his councils, amongst his dependents, and, in appearance, most faithful servants, and even amongst his own friends and relations.

FROM men all things may be expected; they are not to be kept firm to their duty, integrity, and the laws of society, by fidelity and virtue, but by their hopes and wishes. But how could these consummate politicians undertake to mention unity and conduct in their pretended republic? they, who were for giving it so many heads, each independent of the other, and all under little subjection to a protector too weak to make himself be obeyed. It was perceived immediately, that their design was to make themselves so many sovereigns in their several districts, not foreseeing that by that means they would only deliver up each other to the discretion of Spain, and the league, who would easily destroy them, by attacking them separately.

ALTHOUGH these cabals of the principal officers in the protestant party with a foreigner, were carried on privately enough, yet happily they did not hinder the better party from prevailing in the assembly. The duke of Montmorency * was of opinion, that in the present danger we should be all united, and keep ourselves effectually upon the defensive. I insisted, in all the councils, upon the necessity of acknowledging the authority of one only head, and of not weakening our power by dividing it. As we came out from one of these councils, the king of Navarre drawing me aside, said to me, "Monsieur le baron "de Rosny, it is not enough to speak well, we must "act still better: are you not resolved that we should

* This is Henry, marechal Damville, afterwards duke of Montmorency.

" die together? it is no longer time to be frugal; " all men of honour, and who have their religion at " heart, muſt venture one half of their eſtates to ſave " the other. I am perſuaded that you will be " amongſt the firſt to aſſiſt me, and I promiſe you, if " I ſucceed, you ſhall partake of my good fortune." " No, no, ſir, replied I, we will not die, but we " will live together, and make our enemies ſhorter " by their heads. I have ſtill a wood that will pro- " duce me a hundred thouſand francs, and all ſhall be " employed on this occaſion; you ſhall give me " more when you are rich, which will certainly " happen. I had a preceptor who was poſſeſſed by a " devil, and he foretold it me." The king of Navarre could not help ſmiling at this ſally, and embracing me cloſely,, " Well, my friend, ſaid he to me, " return to your houſe, be diligent, and come to me " ſoon again, with as many of your friends as you " can bring with you, and do not forget your wood " of high trees." He afterwards communicated to me the deſign he had to draw the war to Paris, or at leaſt to the Loire; which was, in effect, the only means of ſucceeding. He told me alſo, that he carried on a private correſpondence in Angers, but that he feared the prince of Condé would by his precipitation obſtruct his deſigns there, more than the catholics; the event will ſhew if he judged rightly. He promiſed to inform me of all that paſſed, and took leave of me, with a thouſand teſtimonies of friendſhip, which I ſhall never forget.

I ARRIVED at Bergerac, almoſt in the ſame moment that the cardinal de Lenoncourt *, Mr. de Sillery, and Mr. de Poigny came thither alſo, being deputed by the court to the king of Navarre, to repreſent to him, for the laſt time, the neceſſity he was under of ſubmitting to the king's pleaſure, and of

* Philip de Lenoncourt, cardinal and archbiſhop of Rheims. Nicolas Brulart, marquis of Sillery, afterwards chancellor. John d'Angenes, lord of Poigny.

changing

changing his religion †. Poigny came to me the next day, diſcloſing to me the purport of his commiſſion, and aſked me what I thought would be the event of his journey. I aſſured him that he was giving himſelf an uſeleſs trouble; and that on an occaſion when religion, the ſtate, and the royal authority were in ſo great danger, it would not be words only that could prevail upon the king of Navarre. He ſhrugged up his ſoldiers, ſighed at my anſwer, and inſtead of replying, "I believe, ſaid he to me, it "will be a difficult thing to procure a maſs in this "city." I conducted him to the chapel myſelf with the other deputies, being deſirous to perſuade them by this liberty that was allowed to catholics, in a city wherein the proteſtants were maſters, that we were not the real enemies of the king.

WHAT I had foretold the deputies of the event of their commiſſion, exactly happened. As for me, I

† In the Memoirs of the life of J. A. de Thou, book iii. there is a converſation which Michael de Montagne had with this preſident, that the reader may not be diſpleaſed to ſee here. "As they were "diſcourſing, ſays the author, upon the cauſes of the preſent trou- "bles, Montagne told the preſident, that he had been a mediator be- "tween the king of Navarre, and the duke of Guiſe, when theſe "princes were at the court; and that the latter by his cares, his ſer- "vices, and aſſiduities, made advances to gain the king of Navarre's "friendſhip; but finding that he made a jeſt of him, and that after "all his endeavours he was ſtill an implacable enemy, he had recourſe "to war as the laſt reſource to defend the honour of his family; that "the enmity which raged in the minds of theſe two perſons, was the "cauſe of a war, which was at preſent ſo far kindled, that only the "death of one of them could extinguiſh it; that neither the duke, or "any of his family, believed themſelves ſecure, while the king of "Navarre lived; and the king of Navarre, on his ſide, was perſuad- "ed, that he ſhould draw no advantage from his right of ſucceſſion to "the crown, during the duke's life. As for religion, added he, "which they both make ſuch a noiſe about, it is a good pretence to "procure adherents, but neither of them is much affected by it. The "fear of being abandoned by the proteſtants, is the ſole cauſe that pre- "vents the king of Navarre from embracing the religion of his an- "ceſtors, nor would the duke recede from the confeſſion of Aug- "ſburg, if his uncle Charles, cardinal of Lorrain, had convinced him, "that he might follow it without prejudice to his intereſt. Theſe, "he ſaid, were the ſentiments he diſcovered in theſe princes, when "he was employed in their affairs."

continued my journey to Paris, where, on my arrival, I found nothing was talked of but the design of ruining the king of Navarre entirely, and extirpating the huguenots. Every thing there was conducted according to the inclination of the league, which, since the shameful step the king had taken, ruled despotically, and all the worthy Frenchmen that remained, were under a necessity of lamenting in private the misfortunes which the king's weakness had drawn upon the kingdom. It was to these that I addressed myself, and I had some conference with Mess. de Rambouillet, de Montbazon ‡ the elder, d'Aumont, de la Rocheguion, des Arpentis, and some others. They all assured me, that when once the king of Navarre should appear in the neighbourhood of the Loire, he should soon see a considerable number of true Frenchmen in his train I confirmed them as much as I was able in these good resolutions †, and after I had bought some horses at Paris, I made haste to procure those sums I had promised the king.

I LEARNT by public report, what had happened at Angers: but, in order to give a distinct account of it, it is necessary to take the story a little higher. Brissac ‡, who was governor of the castle of this city, placed a lieutenant there in his absence, called captain Grec, with twenty soldiers, on whose fidelity he had an entire reliance. Two of these soldiers, having been formerly of the reformed religion, suffered themselves to be gained by the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, and waited only for a favourable opportunity to deliver up the castle to them,

* Nicholas d'Angennes, marquis of Rambouillet. Lewis de Rohan, created duke of Montbazon, in the year 1588. John d'Aumont, marechal of France. ------- de Silly, count of Rocheguion. Lewis de Bois, lord of Arpentis, master of the king's wardrobe, governor of Touraine.

† Monsieur de Rosny's negotiations with Henry III. is mentioned by de Thou, book lxxxii.

‡ Charles de Cossy, count de Brissac.

which

which would neceſſarily be followed by the ſurrender of the city. When it was known at Angers, that Henry III. had joined with the king of Navarre againſt the league, a third party was formed, headed by du Hallot †, who likewiſe endeavoured to gain Rochemorte and Freſne, ſo were the two ſoldiers named. Matters did not long continue in this ſtate; the two ſoldiers, preſſed by the prince of Condé, ſurprized captain Grec, and killed him, together with ſome of his men: after which they ſeized upon the caſtle. Du Hallot, who knew not of the change that had ſo lately happened at court, gave himſelf no trouble about this action; on the contrary, he ſatisfied the people, by repreſenting to them, that the two ſoldiers had only acted according to the king's orders; and he remained in this error, till offering to enter the caſtle, he himſelf experienced the treachery of Rochemorte and Freſne, and through his miſtake, ſuffered death upon the wheel ‡.

HITHERTO every thing ſucceeded for the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé's party. But they ſoon experienced the inſtability of fortune. Rochemorte having been drawn beyond the bridge by the catholics, who kept the caſtle inveſted, perceiving that their deſign was to ſurprize the place, and make him their priſoner, endeavoured to get in again. In this tumult, thoſe within the caſtle thought of nothing but of drawing up the bridge immediately. Rochemorte graſped the chains, which loſing from his hold, he fell into the ditch, where a ſtag that was feeding, diſpatched him by tearing him in pieces. Freſne only remained, who, two days after, as he was ſleeping upon a parapet on the wall, where he thought himſelf in ſafety, was killed by a carbine, ſhot from the other ſide of the river, at the diſtance of above 500 paces. After which the catholics

† Michael Bourrouge du Hallot. Lewis Bouchereau de Rochemorte. Leon de Freſne.

‡ The king was ſo much afraid of the league, that he publicly diſavowed du Hallot's enterprize.

drove out the reſt of the huguenots from the city and caſtle, with the ſame facility that they had ſeized it. Things would not have taken this unfavourable turn, if the king of Navarre had conducted the enterprize alone; for he would not have ſuffered the two conſpirators to begin their operation, till he was at the gate to ſupport them with his whole army.

This ill-concerted ſcheme produced more misfortunes; the prince of Condé being engaged in the ſiege of Brouage, when news was brought him, that his party had ſurprized Angers, balanced not a moment whether he ſhould quit the ſiege, but went immediately to the aſſiſtance of his confederates at Angers; where arriving too late, he failed in both his deſigns. This was not all; the whole catholic army being idle and diſperſed, aſſembled again in the neighbourhood of Angers, which took away all poſſibility of regaining it, precipitated all the actions of the campaign, and brought the prince of Condé himſelf, as we ſhall ſee preſently, into a danger, from whence he eſcaped but by a ſingular inſtance of good fortune.

After this firſt act of hoſtility on the proteſtant ſide, I believed it would be no longer poſſible to keep any meaſures with the catholics. If to continue at Roſny, therefore, was dangerous, the country being overſpread with royaliſts, it was no leſs ſo to endeavour to make my way to the king of Navarre: however, I reſolved upon this laſt expedient, being convinced, that he never had more need of my aſſiſtance than in the preſent conjuncture; and that the difficulty of ſending diſpatches through the midſt of an enemy's army, was the only cauſe of my not hearing from him as he had promiſed. * Meſſieurs de Mouy, de Feuquieres, and Morinville, to whom I imparted my deſign, judging it to be too hazardous,

* Iſaac Vaudre, or Vaudray, lord of Mouy. ----- de Pas-Feuquieres.

refuſed

refuſed to accompany me; but this did not hinder me from ſetting out on my journey, attended only by ſix gentlemen, and my domeſtics, two of whom carried portmanteaus, in each of which were ſix thouſand crowns.

I LAY the firſt night at Nonancourt †, and the ſecond at Chateaudun ‡. Hitherto no unfortunate accident befel me, for although we every where met with great numbers of catholic ſoldiers, yet they all ſuppoſed I was going, like them, to join the body of the duke of Joyeuſe's army; with whom, as a ſoldier, named Mothepotain, informed me, every thing went very well. I left Chateaudun before day, leſt I ſhould be diſcovered, and came to Vendome; where not being willing to be known by Bénehart *, I made Boiſbrueil, one of the gentlemen in my train, paſs for the maſter of the troop, and I mounted, like one of the domeſtics, upon a horſe that carried baggage. He who appeared to be the chief amongſt us, was aſked ſeveral queſtions, to which he made proper anſwers, and we were ſuffered to paſs. We traverſed the whole city, in order to lodge in the moſt diſtant part of the ſuburbs. Bénehart, who believed us to be catholics, as we had aſſured him we were, very obligingly ſent to adviſe us to return into the city, becauſe the prince of Condé's army, which had been repulſed before Angers, were diſperſed over the country, and ſometimes made excurſions to the gates of the city, which rendered our ſtay in the ſuburbs very dangerous. What he repreſented to us as a misfortune we ſhould have looked upon as a very great happineſs; but there was a neceſſity for concealing it: therefore, the pretended maſter of the equipage, ſeeming to approve of this advice, ordered the baggage to be put upon the horſes again, that we might return into the city. It belonged to me, who performed the part of a do-

† In Perche. § In the county of Chartrain.
* James de Maillé de Bénehart, governor of Vendome.

meſtic,

meſtic, ſecretly to protract our ſtay till the night approached. The hurry and confuſion, occaſioned by the removal of all the people who lodged there, for the order was general, kept our artifice unſuſpected: at length, we in reality made preparations for going, as well as the reſt; but after our horſes had been fed and refreſhed, and the night half over, we mounted, and, inſtead of entering the city, filed off into a bye ſtreet, which I had cauſed to be reconnoitred, and got into the fields on that ſide, where I ſuppoſed the prince of Condé's army might be.

We had, however, reaſon to apprehend, that the artifice which had hitherto proved ſo ſucceſsful, would occaſion our ruin, through the impoſſibility of diſtinguiſhing readily, what party thoſe whom we might happen to meet, belonged to. A miſtake might coſt us our lives; but there being no remedy, we continued our journey, though with ſufficient uneaſineſs, thinking neceſſary not to alter our uſual anſwer. In effect, the firſt we met with was a company of light-armed horſe, commanded by Falandre. To the queſtion, which was, Qui vive, we replied, Vive le Roy; and Falandre examining us no farther, adviſed us to join him, leſt we ſhould meet the prince of Condé's little army, which he aſſured us was not far off; adding, if we doubted him, we might get further information from two or three companies of argoulets †, who were coming after. Theſe laſt words furniſhed us with a pretence for evading his perplexing civility: we feigned to have reaſons for not following the ſame route with him, and for waiting to take our meaſures from the anſwer we ſhould receive from the argoulets. In reality, we were no leſs apprehenſive of this other rencounter, but we prepared for it, relying ſtill upon the good fortune of

† So called from the bows with which they were at firſt armed. They ſerved on foot or on horſeback, as our dragoons do at preſent. When the arquebuſes were firſt in uſe, they were called horſe-arquebuſiers; and it is by this name they are generally called in theſe Memoirs.

eſcaping,

eſcaping, by means of our diſguiſe. Accordingly, we did not fail to the queſtion, Qui vive, which was aſked us by the next company we met, to anſwer boldly, Vive le Roy, being perſuaded that we ſpoke to the argoulets of the royal army, whom Falandre had mentioned to us. This ſuppoſition, however, probably drew us into a very great danger; for theſe argoulets having perceived the prince of Condé's army at a diſtance, diſperſed, and threw themſelves into the woods. Inſtead of them, therefore, theſe whom we now encountered were four companies belonging to the prince; which we ſoon comprehended by the whole troop's falling upon us, and aiming their pieces, crying out to us to ſurrender. At that moment, I plainly diſtinguiſhed three officers of my acquaintance, whom it would not have been difficult in any other ſituation to have made myſelf known to; but I reflected, that in ſuch ſort of encounters, the firſt word, the firſt motion, that tend to an explanation, are generally underſtood as a refuſal to ſurrender, and followed by a diſcharge of the piece cloſe to the breaſt. Inſtead, therefore, of naming myſelf, or thoſe officers, I behaved like a man who yields himſelf priſoner, and marched after the reſt; till coming near meſſieurs de Clermont * and St. Gelais, whom I ſurprized very much by embracing, they ordered my equipage to be reſtored to me, and likewiſe the portmanteaus which contained my money.

THE prince of Condé came up ſoon after theſe four companies: he could ſcarcely believe what he ſaw, ſo bold did my enterprize appear to him. We lay all night in this place, after ſupping very temperately out of wooden diſhes; and when the time came which obliged us to ſeparate, the prince, who was ſo thinly accompanied, that far from being able to make head againſt a royal army, he was not in a condition to defend himſelf againſt a ſtrong detach-

* George de Clermont d'Amboiſe, marquis of Galerande.

ment,

ment, and being likewiſe in a province where he was ſought for in all parts, would have had me to receive him into my company, in the quality of a private gentleman. He was ſo well known, that I could not yield to his requeſt, without ruining both him and myſelf. I intreated him, therefore, to diſpenſe with my complaiſance; and making the ſame excuſe to the duke de la Trémouille *, charged myſelf only with meſſieurs de Fors, du Pleſſis, de Verac, and d'Oradour. The prince of Condé remained behind, extremely perplexed; and finding it ſtill more dangerous to continue with his twelve hundred horſe, than to march with a ſmall retinue, he divided them into platoons, of which the moſt conſiderable conſiſted only of twenty horſe, making them take bye-ways, and marching himſelf through the roads, by a good fortune of which there are but few examples, twelve times eſcaped the purſuits of his enemies.

Nor indeed was I leſs fortunate myſelf. To the artifices I had already made uſe of, I added another, which ſucceeded wonderfully: I aſſumed the name of one of my brothers; and to make myſelf look more youthful, cut off my beard and muſtaches. This, however, did not diſguiſe me ſo well, but that through every place I paſſed, I could hear people about me ſay, that I perfectly reſembled my brother the huguenot. To avoid the queſtions that might be aſked me, I took the ſtyle of a zealous partizan of the league, ſpread the report of the prince of Condé's defeat, and the rout of the proteſtant forces by the duke of Joyeuſe; by which means I arrived ſafe at Chateau-Renaud †. The great difficulty was how to paſs the Loire; yet this I accompliſhed, through the aſſiſtance of M. des Arpentis, who acted on this occaſion like a true friend. I received, likewiſe, ſome ſervices from M. de Montbazon. As ſoon as I arrived at Montbazon, he ſent me a preſent

* Claude, duke de la Tremouille. † In Touraine.

of

of wine and fruit, and treated me with so much kindness in several other instances, that although I was known in this place, I complied with his intreaties, and staid there three days, which was no more than necessary, as our horses began to be greatly fatigued. By the death of M. de Montbazon *, which happened soon after, I was deprived of an opportunity of shewing my gratitude to a man, who had the good of the state so nearly at heart.

FAVOURED by my new disguise, I traversed Châtelleraud and Poitiers †. At Ville-fagnan, meeting with a regiment of Swiss that was going to join the marechal de Matignon's army, I resolved to draw some advantage from this rencounter. The Swiss were not displeased with any thing I said to them, because I always took care to provide them each morning with a repast; and I believe I might have depended upon them, had I even discovered my true name. I travelled with them four days, and we did not separate, while I could possibly avoid it. Scarce had I quitted them, when passing the river at St. Marsaud ‡, I was known by Puiferret, who advanced with his company to the bank of the river. Happily for me, I had already got to the other side; and having this advantage of him, I gained the house of M. de Neufvy ||. At Marton ** I went down, as usual, into the suburbs, and immediately, through a strange foreboding, returned into the city. I was informed the next day, that the door of the stable in which my horses were supposed to be, had been burst open in the night by a petard; but the reflections I made upon this accident, did not prevent me from giving orders for my departure: when I was accosted by a stranger, who said to me. "Monsieur, I do not de-

* He was slain at the battle of Arques.

† Upon the confines of Poitou, and Saintonge.

‡ A village in Saintonge.

|| The youngest son was called Bertrand de Melet de Fayoles of Neufvy; for Magdelaine de Melet de Fayoles, lord of Neufroy, his eldest, was in the party of the league.

** In Angoumois.

"fire

" fire to know who you are; but if you are a hugue-
" not, and leave this place, you will perish; five
" miles distant from hence there is an ambush of
" fifty horse, well armed, which I believe is design-
" ed against you." I thanked this man for his kindness, without seeming discomposed by what he had told me, and coldly answered, that although I was not a huguenot, yet to fall into an ambush appeared to me to be always dangerous. I then returned to my inn, where pretending that one of my finest horses had hurt his foot, I ordered them to be all unsaddled.

THAT I might be assured whether what I had heard was true, I made one of my servants, named Perigordin, who could imitate perfectly well the gibberish of a peasant, disguise himself like one; and after instructing him in what he was to do, sent him to that part of the country, where I was told the ambush was posted.

PERIGORDIN meeting these fifty horsemen, told them, in answer to the questions they asked him concerning the news of the city, that my departure was deferred till the next day. He followed them to a town, two leagues from thence, where they retired extremely mortified at having missed their blow, but resolved to return to the same place the next morning: and came back to me to make his report. I set out that moment, and after some other little adventures of the same kind, arrived at the house of M. de Longa, and went from thence to Bergerac, where the king of Navarre then was. This prince, on whom no instance of kindness was ever lost, held me a long time embraced in his arms; and appeared extremely sensible of the dangers to which, through my attachment to him, I had exposed myself. He would make me acquaint him with the least particulars relating to my journey, especially the rencounter I had with the prince of Condé, and the slippery condition in which I had left him.

'TIS

'Tis impoſſible to deſcribe the king of Navarre's perplexity at this time: without troops, money, or aid, he ſaw three powerful armies marching againſt him. Thoſe of the dukes of Maïenne and Joyeuſe were advancing by great journeys; and he had the marechal de Matignon's army actually in front. The forty thouſand francs I had brought with me, proved a very ſeaſonable ſupply to this prince, who could not have raiſed ſuch a ſum in his whole court. We marched towards Caſtillon and Montſégur *, which Matignon made ſhew of beſieging; but he falling ſuddenly upon Caſtets, we were obliged to turn to that ſide, and after a long and extreme cold march, for it was in the month of February, we arrived time enough to make them raiſe this ſiege.

But when we learnt that the duke of Maïenne's army was near, then it was, that not being able to think of any means by which we could reſiſt the efforts of two armies, whoſe numbers were ſo ſuperior to ours, we were thrown into the greateſt conſternation imaginable; we knew not which way to turn, nor what reſolution to take: one was of opinion, that the king of Navarre ſhould retire into the heart of Languedoc; another, that he ſhould go ſtill farther; and a third adviſed him to paſs over to England, from whence, after he had ſecured ſome powerful ſuccours, he ſhould go and put himſelf at the head of thoſe that Germany had given him hopes of. All agreed upon this one point, that the king ought to go farther from Guienne. It was with grief that I ſaw this advice, which would leave the proteſtant party in France without any reſource, likely to prevail.

The king of Navarre deſiring to know my opinion, I repreſented to him, that our affairs were not reduced to ſuch an extremity, as to oblige us to abandon them entirely: that it would be time enough to do that, after we had endeavoured once

* Cities of Gaſcony, in the biſhopric of Aire.

more

more to make head againſt them every where; which did not appear to be impoſſible, by leaving, for example, the viſcount de Turenne, with a ſmall body of troops, ſuch as could be got together, to act upon the defenſive in Guienne; and while the duke of Montmorency did the ſame in Languedoc, and Leſdiguieres in Dauphiny, the king ſhould reſerve the defence of Rochelle, and the neighbouring country, for himſelf, till the foreign troops, that were now very ſoon expected, arrived, which would bring the two powers nearer to an equality. The king of Navarre approved of this advice, and declared he would follow it; "But, added he, the duke of "Maïenne is not ſo peeviſh a boy, but that he will "permit me to walk up and down a little longer in "Guienne." He then gave ſome orders before he ſet out for Rochelle, and took a journey to Bearn; which the preſent conjuncture rendered abſolutely neceſſary.

He ſtaid there but eight days, and during this interval, the two catholic armies having joined, and ſeized all the paſſages by which they thought the king of Navarre could return to Poitou, he ſaw himſelf upon the point of being ſhut up in Nerac. In this extremity the king reſolving to attempt all things, rather than not ſecure himſelf a paſſage *; he left Nerac, followed by two hundred horſe, and took the road towards Caſtel-geloux †. When he was got half way thither, he ſeparated his whole troop, and keeping only twenty of us that were beſt mounted, and a like number of his guards, appointed † Sainte-foy for a place of rendezvous for all the reſt: then, turning ſhort, ſtruck into a road amidſt woods and heaths, with which he was well acquainted, having often hunted there, and arrived

* See this paſſage of the king of Navarre, and all the military expeditions on both ſides, in d'Aubigné, vol. III. Matthieu, vol. I. book xviii. Cayet, book i. and other hiſtorians.

† A city of the principality of Albret.

‡ A city of Guienne upon the Dordogne.

at

at ‖ Caumont, where he ſlept three hours. We paſſed the river after ſun-ſet, and marched all night through the enemy's quarters, and even over the moats of Marmande; after which, taking a bye-way near Sauvetat, we came two hours before day to Sainte-foy, where all the reſt of his men, who had divided into ſmall platoons, arrived alſo by different ways, without the leaſt loſs, not even of their baggage. The duke of Maïenne, exaſperated at this diſappointment of his hopes, went to diſcharge all his rage upon ‡ Montignac le Comte, where captain Roux, and ſerjeant More defended themſelves ſo courageouſly againſt his whole army, that he could not oblige them to ſurrender, but by granting them the moſt honourable conditions.

This general found leſs reſiſtance in § Sainte Bazeile. Deſpueilles, the governor of that ſmall place, was allied to the family of Courtenay, and had the reputation of a brave man: which inſpired me with an inclination to ſhut myſelf up with him, contrary to the advice of my relations and friends, who without doubt knew him much better than I did. The king of Navarre a long time denied me the permiſſion I aſked of him; at laſt, overcome by my importunity, he gave me thirty men, with whom I threw myſelf into Sainte Bazeile. I found the place in a very bad condition, without ramparts, and the houſes all built of clay, which the cannon went quite through. However, it might have held out ſome time, but Deſpueilles being ſeized with fear, rejected all my advice, and was mad enough to put himſelf into the enemies hands, who treated the city as they pleaſed. The king of Navarre, at the firſt confuſed reports he heard of this action, was angry with us all; but when he was informed of the truth, the whole weight of his diſpleaſure fell upon Deſ-

‖ Another city of Gueinne.
‡ A city of Perigord upon the Vezere.
§ A city of Bazadois upon the Dordogne.

pueilles,

puelliees, which was increaſed by this cowardly governor having the imprudence to tell him, when he preſented himſelf before him to excuſe his conduct, that if he had been there himſelf, he could not have acted otherwiſe. The king of Navarre put him under an arreſt, from which, eight days after, he was releaſed at our ſolicitations.

THE king did not quit the field till he was reduced to the laſt extremity, and after having diſputed the ground inch by inch. When he retreated, he threw the remains of his forces into § Monſégur, Caſtillon, and Sainte-foy. I lent him ſix thouſand livres more, to fortify Montflanquin, where ‡ Bethune commanded. At laſt, fearing ſome fatal accident on the ſide of Rochelle, he left ſome troops in Guienne, under the command of the viſcount de Turenne, and took the road to that city by Pons, and Sainte Jean d'Angely †.

THERE were moments in which Henry III. enraged at the ſhameful part the league obliged him to act, wiſhed ardently to find ſome means of revenging himſelf ‖: but willing to do this without danger, rejected always the thought that often preſented itſelf to his mind, of calling in the king of Navarre, and uniting with him. The deputies from the four Swiſs catholic cantons coming to Paris, to treat of the ſuccours which ſome time before had been demanded of this republic; the king, who was then in one of his temporary fits of anger againſt the league, reſolved to make uſe of theſe Swiſs, which, with the troops that were at his own diſpoſal, and thoſe he might expect from the king of Navarre, would form a body of men capable of reducing the league to reaſon. He wrote to the king of Navarre, and acquainting him with his new deſigns, deſired him to

§ Upon the Dordogne. ‡ Floreſtan de Bethune.

† Cities of Saintonge.

‖ It was in theſe moments that he ſaid, as l'Etoile relates, *De inimicis meis vindicabo inimicos meos*; ſpeaking of the leaguers, and the huguenots.

ſend

ſend a perſon in whom he could confide, to confer with him upon this whole affair, and particularly upon the uſe they were to make of the Swiſs. A blank paſſport was added to this letter, which the king of Navarre filling up with my name, obliged me to depart immediately.

I ARRIVED at Saint Maur, where the court then was, and went down to the houſe of Villeroy, with whom I dined, and ſtaid the reſt of that day, and on the next he preſented me to the king. I ſhall never forget the fantaſtic and extravagant equipage and attitude in which I found this prince in his cabinet: he had a ſword at his ſide, a Spaniſh hood hung down upon his ſhoulders, a little cap, ſuch as collegians wear, upon his head, and a baſket full of little dogs hung to a ribband about his neck. He continued in a poſture ſo fixed, and ſo immoveable, that in ſpeaking to us, he neither moved his head, hands, or feet. He began by giving vent to his indignation againſt the league, which made me conclude he had received ſome new affront from it, and talked of his union with the king of Navarre, as a thing, the utility of which he was perfectly convinced of; but ſome remains of fear made him always add, that he looked upon it as impoſſible, while the king of Navarre perſiſted in his reſolutions of not changing his religion. I took the word, and told the king in anſwer, that it would be in vain to propoſe ſuch an expedient to the king of Navarre, who by agreeing to it muſt act againſt his conſcience; which, were he capable of doing, would not produce what his majeſty hoped from it; that the motive by which the league was actuated, was neither a regard to public good, or to religion; that ſo precipitate an action would deprive the king of Navarre of all the aſſiſtance he might expect from the proteſtants, without drawing one man from the league; but, on the contrary, ſuch a weakneſs would increaſe the pride of their common enemies. The king did not

not fail to anſwer my reaſons; but I ſtill perſiſted in maintaining, that the king of Navarre, by complying with the terms propoſed to him, could bring only his ſingle perſon to his aid, whereas by uniting with him in the condition he was now in, without requiring the ſacrifice of his religion, he would ſtrengthen the king's party with a body very powerful in the ſtate. I had a conference, to the ſame effect, with the queen-mother: and I perceived that the force of my arguments made ſome impreſſion on them both, at firſt, and that it was the fear of that change which an union with a prince of the reformed religion might produce, which only prevented them from yielding. I did not, however, deſpair of prevailing upon them to ſtrike this great blow, and by the (not only gracious but) free and open manner, in which their majeſties treated me, I had reaſon to flatter myſelf I ſhould ſucceed.

I LEFT them in theſe favourable diſpoſitions to go to Paris, to confer with the Swiſs deputies, and brought them to my purpoſe with very little difficulty. It coſt me nothing but a ſmall expence in proviſions, eſpecially wine; for which they promiſed, without any limitation, a body of ten thouſand Swiſs; four thouſand of which were to ſtay in Dauphiny, and the other ſix thouſand to be employed in the ſervice, and at the diſcretion of the two kings. The king of France again aſſured me by Meſſ. de Lenoncourt, de Poigny, and Brulart, that his ſentiments were not altered, and that he paſſionately wiſhed for the union; which was not leſs earneſtly deſired by the king of Navarre: in the diſpatches I received from him almoſt every day, he exhorted me to uſe all my endeavours to ſecure its ſucceſs, and even to ſacrifice for that purpoſe ſome part of his intereſt.

AT my return to St. Maur, I gave the king an account of my journey, and aſked what uſe he would make of the ſix thouſand Swiſs, and to what place he deſigned they ſhould go. The king demanded, that

that they ſhould be brought into the neighbourhood of Paris; and even, if there was a neceſſity for it, ſerve him againſt the league. I foreſaw all the inconveniencies that would attend a project of this kind, and did not yield to this article, but by the expreſs command of the king of Navarre, who thought ſo ſmall a matter ought not to retard their reconciliation. It will be ſoon ſeen whether this article was really of as little importance as was imagined, and what was the conſequence of this imprudent compliance.

THE treaty between the two kings being concluded upon the conditions that have been mentioned, I reſolved to depart from court, leaving only Marſilliere at Paris, under colour of continuing the negotiation that had been begun: but he had only attended me to Paris, to take the firſt favourable opportunity of going to Germany, to facilitate, by the aſſiſtance of meſſieurs de § Clairvant, and de Guitry, the departure of a body of German troops from thence, which the proteſtants of thoſe countries had promiſed the king of Navarre. This deſign Marſilliere executed very happily. As for me, I ſtaid but eight days at Roſny with my wife; after which I returned to the king of Navarre, who was extremely well ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of my commiſſion.

THIS prince could not reſolve to lie idle in Rochelle, and therefore prevailed with the inhabitants to furniſh him with twelve hundred foot, two hundred horſe, and three cannons; theſe he gave to the duke de la Tremouille for the reduction of Talmont †, which he could not endure to ſee in the enemies hands. I followed the duke de la Tremouille, with Mignonville, Fouquerolles, Bois-du-Lys, and ſome other officers.

THE town having no fortifications, we ſeized it without oppoſition, and began immediately to attack

§ Claude Antony de Vienne, lord of Clairvant.
† A city of Lower Poitou.

the caſtle; the walls of which were very ſtrong, but had no works on the outſide. Maroniere, who was governor of it, although he did not expect to be attacked, depended upon ſome ſpeedy ſupplies that || Malicorne had engaged to bring him: which determined us to preſs the place vigorouſly. The paſſage by ſea from Talmont to Rochelle is but ſix hours; I embarked for that place to fetch a ſupply of powder, with which we were not ſufficiently provided, and to inform the king of Navarre, that we ſhould find it very difficult to ſucceed with ſo ſmall a number of men. The king ſoon raiſed two thouſand more in the neighbourhood of Rochelle, and ſhipped them on board of three veſſels, which during three days were in danger of periſhing. At length we arrived at Talmont; the three veſſels caſt anchor there one after another, and the beſieged learning that the king of Navarre conducted the attack in perſon, ſurrendered the place to him.

It was want of money that had prevented Malicorne from bringing ſupplies to the governor of Talmont; the king of Navarre, therefore, being freed from this fear, drew off his troops, in order to attack * Chizai. Fayolle, who commanded there, defended himſelf bravely. He made good uſe of a culverine, which was the only piece of artillery he had in the place; nor yielded till the laſt extremity. I took notice of a ſingular accident that happened there: the princeſs Catherine having ſent the ſteward of her houſhold with a letter to the king her brother, a bullet of this culverine went quite through the body of his horſe, and came out at his breaſt, yet the beaſt continued ſtanding near ten minutes after.

Another ſhot from an arquebuſe was the cauſe of a much greater misfortune: a gentleman charged with a verbal meſſage to the king of Navarre, concerning ſome important affairs, was ſhot dead at the

|| John de Sourches, lord of Malicorne.
* In Upper Poitou, upon the Boutonne.

feet

feet of this prince, having only had time to say that he came from Heidelberg, from messieurs de Clairvant and de Guitry. This officer was sent to inform the king, that the German horse, and other protestant troops from Germany, were ready to enter France; and to know of him through what place he thought it most proper they should march. Some were for their entering France by Lorrain, where the league was very powerful; others maintained, that they ought to take their route by the Bourbonnois, from thence by Berry and Poitou, and the side of the Loire. Messieurs de Montmorency and de Châtillon were for keeping them in Languedoc and near the Rhone. Never was so great a diversity of opinions known, and unhappily the worst prevailed, which was to bring them in through Beauce; doubtless, because the king of France was willing to have them near him, that he might make use of them against the league, or at least to keep it in awe. I is not probable that the king of Navarre would have consented to this, but the accident that has been related was the cause that he was even ignorant of their contentions.

This prince, by a continuance of the same good fortune, took Sanzay, and afterwards St. Maixant†; the noise of five or six cannons, which till that time were seldom made use of in sieges, produced this effect. He took advantage of his success, and seeing himself reinforced with two hundred horse, and five hundred foot, which were brought him by the prince of Condé, and the count de la Rochefoucault‡, whom he had just made colonel-general of his infantry, he believed himself strong enough to undertake the siege of Fontenay, the second place for strength in Poitou; although he was not ignorant,

† Other cities of Upper Poitou.

‡ Francis de la Rochefoucault, prince of Marsillac, son of him who was slain at the massacre of St. Bartholomew. He was killed in 1591.

that in this place there was a brave governor, and a ſtrong garriſon. The governor, whoſe name was la Rouſſiere, reſolved to defend not only the city, but the ſuburb des Loges alſo, which was larger and more magnificent than the city itſelf, and ſurrounded with a great moat; to which were added ſtrong barricadoes, that cloſed up the entrance of this ſuburb. The king of Navarre ſent la Rochefoucault, at the head of forty gentlemen, to attack the upper end of this ſuburb in a very dark night. I joined meſſieurs de § Dangeau, de Vaubrot, d'Avantigny, de Challandeau, de Feuquieres, de Braſſeuſſes, le Chene, and two or three others. We poſted ourſelves at one ſide of the barricadoes, with our pikes in our hands, and our piſtols at our girdles, with a deſign either to throw them down, or leap over them. We were repulſed three times. Vaubrot, Avantigny, and I, in falling, drew five or ſix hogſheads of dung upon us, from which we were apprehenſive we ſhould not ſoon diſengage ourſelves; but our party having at that inſtant forced the works, we got up by means of this effort, and the enemies ſeeing us maſters of the barricade, thought of nothing but retreating, after having firſt ſet fire to it, to protract our purſuit, leſt by following them too cloſe, we ſhould in their confuſion enter the city along with them.

We now took up our lodgings in the fineſt houſes in the ſuburb, where we found all things in great abundance. The only inconvenience we ſuffered, was from the ſmall ſhot of the place, which made the entrance to the king's and our own houſes very dangerous; and the batteries upon the ramparts commanding all the avenues of this ſuburb, it was impoſſible to enter it without being expoſed to continual diſcharges. One day, when I came out of my own houſe to go to the king's, which was the moſt beautiful in the ſuburb, a ball, as I was paſſing

§ Lewis de Courcillon de Dangeau.

through

through the ſtreet, cruſhed my head-piece, juſt as Liberge, my valet de chambre, came up to tie it. I cauſed a rope to be faſtened acroſs the ſtreet, and by means of ſome cloaths that were hung over it, prevented the beſieged from ſeeing at leaſt thoſe that paſſed.

We afterwards applied ourſelves without ceaſing to the trenches and undermining. The king of Navarre took inconceivable pains in this ſiege: he conducted the miners himſelf, after he had taken all the neceſſary precautions to hinder ſupplies from entering without: the bridges, avenues, and all the roads that led to the city, were ſtrictly guarded, as likewiſe great part of the country. One night, when I was upon guard with twenty horſe, at the ford of a river, I heard the noiſe of trampling of horſes at a diſtance, which made me conclude I ſhould be attacked. This noiſe ceaſed for ſome minutes, then began again with more violence; and came ſo near, that I prepared for defence. I ſuffered the troop to approach within arms length; but when we were juſt ready to fire, I perceived the occaſion of our alarm to be a number of horſes and mares, which had been wandering about this field, and came to water at the river. I was one of the firſt to laugh at this adventure; but in ſecret I was not ſorry that I had given orders to the perſon whom I pitched upon to go for aſſiſtance, not to ſet out till we were engaged in fight.

At this ſiege, my principal employment was the conduct of the artillery. The mining was ſo far advanced, that we could hear the voice of the ſoldiers who guarded the parapets, within the lodgment of the miners. The king of Navarre was the firſt who perceived this; he ſpoke, and made himſelf known to the beſieged; who were ſo aſtoniſhed at hearing him name himſelf from the bottom of theſe ſubterraneous places, that they demanded leave to capitulate. The propoſals were all made by this

uncommon way: the articles were drawn up, or rather dictated, by the king of Navarre, whose word was known by the besieged to be so inviolable, that they did not require a writing. They had no cause to repent of this confidence; the king of Navarre, charmed with a proceeding so noble, granted the garrison military honours, and preserved the city from pillage.

A WOMAN of the city having killed a fat hog the same day that they had capitulated, hearing that the garrison had surrendered, devised a pleasant stratagem, to deprive the rapacious soldiers of their prey. She made her husband hide himself, and wrapping the dead animal in a sheet, laid it, by the help of some friends, in a coffin, and by her cries drew all her neighbours about her. The mournful preparations for a funeral gave them to understand the cause of her lamentations; the priests were deceived as well as others. One of them conducted the funeral procession a-cross the suburbs, into a church-yard without the city, by the king of Navarre's permission. The ceremonies over, and the night being come, some persons posted by this woman near the grave, came to take up the dead animal, and carry it into the city; but they were perceived by some soldiers, who driving them from thence, discovered the truth, and seized the prey. One may easily imagine the secret was not well kept; it was known all over the city: a priest, to whom this woman, prest with remorse of conscience, had revealed it, published the adventure every where.

THE king of Navarre leaving the lord of || La-Boulaye governor in this place; went to take the abbey of Maillezais, the situation of which he found so advantageous, that he resolved to make it a regular fortress, and ordered me to draw a plan of it. Davailles, a relation of La-Boulaye, was appointed to

|| Charles Echalard, lord of La-Boulaye.

guard

guard it. His troops took Mauleon likewiſe, and afterwards the caſtle of La-Garnache §; from whence monſieur de Genevois * drove his own mother. She retired to Beauvois, a little city upon the ſea-ſide, whither her ſon ſtill purſued her, but falling this time into her hands, ſhe in her turn made him priſoner of war.

I WAS not preſent at either of theſe ſieges; the melancholy news I received from Roſny obliged me to go thither. During my ſtay at St. Maur, I obtained a protection for my caſtle and eſtate of Roſny, together with neceſſary paſſports for going thither when I pleaſed. It was this liberty that made me eaſy with regard to my wife, at a time when all ſorts of outrages againſt the proteſtants were allowed. I learnt that this town was at that time almoſt wholly depopulated by the plague: my wife had loſt the greateſt part of her domeſtics, and fear having obliged her to fly into the neighbouring foreſts, ſhe had paſſed two days and nights in her coach, and had afterwards taken refuge in the caſtle of Huet, belonging to madame de Compagnac, my aunt. Her joy, when ſhe knew I was ſo near her, gave way to her fears of the danger I incurred by coming amongſt perſons infected with the plague; and thinking to force me to return, ſhe ordered the gates to be ſhut upon me. She had too much occaſion for aſſiſtance and conſolation to be abandoned in that condition; I entered, notwithſtanding her reſiſtance, and ſtaid a month in this houſe, having only two gentlemen,

§ Other ſtrong places in the Lower Poitou.

* D'Aubigné explains this better, vol. III. b. i. c. x. "The lady "of La-Garnache, ſays he, ſiſter to the duke of Rohan, held the "city of La-Garnache, and the caſtle of Beauvois upon the ſea in "neutrality. Her ſon, called prince of Genevois, by his mother's "marriage with the duke of Nemours, ſeized La-Garnache, by "means of a correſpondence he held with the domeſtics. He made "the ſame attempt upon Beauvois, but he was taken priſoner by his "mother. The reſult of all which was, that the king of Navarre "intereſting himſelf in procuring his liberty, obtained it, and by the "ſame means the place."

and as many domeſtics, with me: breathing the air of the country in freedom, for the report of the plague kept all troubleſome viſitors from my houſe. I was not wholly uſeleſs to the king of Navarre all this time; my wood-merchant ſtill owed me twenty-four thouſand livres, and I preſt for the payment of it. The perſecution that was declared againſt the proteſtants, put me entirely in their power; and the fear leſt this money, together with all my eſtates, ſhould be confiſcated for the uſe of the league, obliged me to be contented with ten thouſand livres.

As ſoon as the contagion ceaſed, I carried my wife back to Roſny, after having taken the neceſſary precautions to purify the houſe; and left her at the report, that the duke of Joyeuſe, whoſe march had hitherto been ſlow, and his operations very inconſiderable, was advancing haſtily, to drive the king of Navarre from Poitou. This prince had juſt then been repulſed before Niort and Parthenai; and finding it impoſſible to keep all his fortreſſes againſt forces ſo ſuperior to his, he cauſed the greateſt part of them to be razed and diſmantled, and preſerved only Fontenai, Talmont, Maillezais, and St. Maixant ‖. He afterwards retreated to Rochelle, where I found him.

THE treaty of alliance between the two kings, which was mentioned above, ſeeming to promiſe a more favourable event, the reader is, no doubt, impatient to know the ſucceſs. All was already over; in one moment the whole deſign was overthrown. This proceeding of the court was certainly very uncommon, and will appear a myſtery abſolutely incomprehenſible to thoſe who know not what changes a prince who delivers himſelf up to irreſolution, idleneſs, and timidity, is capable of aſſuming in affairs of ſtate: nothing is more dangerous than a mind

‖ All theſe places are in Poitou.

thus

thus fluctuating and undetermined. In difficult situations, all things ought to be trusted to chance, nor ought it to be wholly neglected; but after having fixed on a particular design, every step that leads to it, ought to be regulated by wise and cool reflections. A necessary peace cannot be too earnestly desired, nor concluded too soon; but in critical circumstances nothing ought to be more carefully avoided, than keeping the people's mind in suspence, between peace and war. It was not by maxims like these that Catherine's counsellors conducted themselves; if they formed any resolution, it lasted but a moment, never held out to the end; and so timorously was it made, that it afforded even but a very imperfect remedy for the present evil. The fault of minds taken up in little trifling intrigues, and in general, of all those that have more vivacity than judgment, is to represent to themselves things that are near, in such a manner, as to be dazzled by them; and see those at a distance through a cloud: a few moments or days make up their futurity.

To this fault of never being able to resolve upon any thing, the king, or rather the queen-mother, added another still greater *. This was the use of I know not what kind of little affected dissimulation, or to say better, a wretched study of hypocrisy and deceit, without which she imagined her politics could not subsist: the first of these errors concealed from us the misfortune with which we were threatened, and the last tied the hands of those who might have assisted us to prevent it. What could we expect but to be ruined by it sooner or later? Thus it happened to Henry III. through his want of resolution to make use of the remedy that was offered him, by joining his troops with those of the king of Na-

* It has been asserted, that the interest of the true religion had no part in the politics of this queen. Witness these words which she was heard to say, when she thought the battle of Dreux was lost, "Well! we must pray to God then in French."

varre; by which means he might cruſh the enemies of his authority: he neglected to proſecute this deſign, and the conſequence was, that he ſaw himſelf reduced to an extremity which might have been as fatal to the royal name as ſhameful to the memory of this prince.

CATHERINE had recourſe to her uſual artifices, and thought ſhe performed a great deal, becauſe ſhe endured the fatigue of a long journey; ſhe went into Poitou, and had ſeveral conferences with the king of Navarre † at Coignac, Saint Brix, and Saint Maixant. Sometimes ſhe endeavoured to allure him, at other times to intimidate him with the ſight of the conſiderable forces that were going to pour upon him, and whoſe efforts, ſhe told him, ſhe had hitherto ſuſpended. In a word, ſhe forgot nothing which ſhe thought might induce him to change his religion. This, however, is certain, that it was not without regret ſhe ſaw the league in a condition to oppreſs the king of Navarre, becauſe it was not her intereſt that his ruin ſhould be accompliſhed by that means. But what ſecurity did ſhe give this prince, by the raſh and unſeaſonable meaſures ſhe wanted to engage him in? Had he not reaſon to believe, that the propoſal ſhe was conſtantly making him to change his religion, was, at the bottom, but an artful ſnare to deprive him of all aſſiſtance from the proteſtants, to make him countermand the troops that he expected from Germany, to draw him

† The queen aſking him what he would have? he replied, looking at the young ladies ſhe had brought with her, "There is nothing "here, madam, that I would have." Perefixe's hiſtory of Henry the Great. Matthieu adds, that Catherine preſſing him to make ſome overture, "Madam, ſaid he, there is no overture here for "me." Vol. I. book viii. p. 518. This interview was at St. Croix the 25th of September. "He was hunting one day at Saint "Brix, and wanting to ſhew that his horſe was more lively than two "very fine ones belonging to Belliévre, a herd of pigs behind a hedge "frighted his horſe, who threw him upon the earth, where he lay "ſenſeleſs, bleeding at the noſe and mouth. They carried him like "one dead to the caſtle. However, two or three days after he diſ-"appeared." Mem. of Nevers, vol. II. p. 588.

to

to court, to ruin him, and, after him, all his adherents? I had particular proofs that justified these apprehensions; for those conferences at which I was present with the king, not affording me the means of clearing my doubts, I held private ones, by his orders, with the ladies d'Uzes, and de Sauves, who were better acquainted with Catherine's inclinations than any other persons, and by whom I was loved with so much tenderness, that they always called me their son. In order to come to the knowledge of their real sentiments, I pretended to be well convinced of what indeed I only suspected, and complained that the queen-mother made use of all her endeavours to sacrifice the king of Navarre to the league. These two ladies confessed to me in confidence, that they believed religion served Catherine only for a pretence, and that affairs were in such a state, that the king of Navarre could no otherwise extricate himself from his difficulties, but by the force of his arms. They protested to me afterwards, that they saw with grief the bad dispositions of the council towards this prince. These words I have always believed to be sincere, although spoke in a court where, next to gallantry, nothing was so much cultivated as falshood.

WHATEVER were the queen-mother's * intentions, she returned without obtaining any thing; and Joyeuse with an army took her place. The conduct of an army entrusted to Joyeuse was a second mystery: Was it to mortify the heads of the league, who had better pretensions to this command than him, or to ruin them entirely, if the new general had succeeded? Was it, on the contrary, the disco-

* "After a long conversation, the queen-mother asking him if "the trouble she had been at was to produce no other fruit, she who "loved nothing so much as peace; he answered, Madam, I am not "the cause of it; it is not I who hinders you from sleeping in your "bed, it is you that prevents me from resting in mine; the trouble "you give yourself pleases, and nourishes you; peace is the greatest "enemy of your life." Perefixe, part i.

very of his connections with the league, that induced the king to give him a poſt, wherein he was aſſured this ungrateful man would periſh, or at leaſt miſcarry? Or was it only to remove a favourite from his preſence, who had now a rival in his affections; for it is often a mere trifle, that produces effects which are always attributed to the moſt ſolid cauſes: but was it not rather to enhance the luſtre of his favour by an employment ſo diſtinguiſhed? Such was the ſpirit of the court, that conjectures, the moſt oppoſite, were ſupported by equal probabilities. What ſeems, however, to determine in favour of the laſt ſuppoſition, is, that the army which Joyeuſe commanded was compoſed of the beſt forces in the kingdom, was filled with the flower of the nobility, and plentifully provided with whatever could contribute towards rendering it victorious.

THE king of Navarre employed himſelf chiefly in putting Saint Maixant in a condition of defence; he went thither with ſo much haſte and precipitation, that ſinking under his watching and fatigue, he was obliged, in his return to Rochelle, to throw himſelf into a waggon drawn by oxen, where he ſlept as in a bed. To prevent the proviſion with which he had ſtored Saint Maixant from being conſumed, he ordered the two regiments of ‖ Charbonnieres, and des Bories, which had been appointed to defend it, to be poſted at La Motte Sainte-Eloi, and there to expect the enemy's arrival. All theſe precautions could not prevent the reduction of this laſt place, and its caſtle, nor that of St. Maixant, Maillezais, and many others, any more than the defeat of ſeveral companies, amongſt others that belonged to Deſpueilles, which was beat almoſt within ſight of Rochelle. The cruel behaviour of the conquerors made theſe misfortunes ſtill more affecting; all we could do in revenge, was to fall upon the wag-

‖ Gabriel Prevot of Charbonnieres.

gons

gons and the ſtragglers, during the marches of this army.

One day, as the duke of Joyeuſe led his army back again from Saintes to Niort, I poſted myſelf with fifty horſe in the foreſt of Benon, near the great road, to wait for an opportunity of ſtriking ſome blow. A ſoldier whom I had directed to climb up a tree, to obſerve the order and motion of the enemy's army, told us, that he ſaw a detachment advancing ſome paces before the firſt battalions. Thoſe who accompanied me were for falling upon this detachment, which they ſuppoſed it would not be difficult to ſubdue, before any aſſiſtance could come up to it. I did not reliſh this propoſal. I remembered a maxim of the king of Navarre's, that to attack a party when the whole army was near, ſeldom ſucceeded; and I reſtrained the ardour of my troop, who burnt with an eager deſire to come to blows with them. We ſaw this detachment paſs by, and afterwards the whole army, the battalions of which we could eaſily count. The laſt ranks marched ſo cloſe, that I was of opinion there was nothing to be done; but as we were ready to make our retreat, the centinel informed us, that he ſaw two ſmall ſquadrons of fifty or ſixty horſe each, that marched at a great diſtance from each other. I would have ſuffered the firſt to paſs by, but it was impoſſible now to reſtrain the impetuoſity of the ſoldiers; we fell upon the firſt with ſuch fury, that we left twelve or fifteen dead upon the place, took as many priſoners, and the reſt ſaved themſelves by flight. But how greatly was I mortified that I had not followed my own opinion; when I found the ſecond troop was compoſed of fifty of the principal officers of the catholic army, with the duke of Joyeuſe himſelf at their head, he having ſtopped at ‖ Surgeres, to refreſh himſelf with a collation there.

‖ A town in the county of Aunis.

When

When I gave the king of Navarre an account of this action, he told me ſmiling, that he perceived I was willing to ſpare the duke's ſquadron, on account of my two brothers who were with him. One of them having an inclination to ſee Rochelle, I obtained a paſſport for him, and conducted him every where. I went to Niort ſoon after, where the enemy's army lay, to agree upon terms of a combat that had been propoſed between the Albanois of captain Mercure's company, and a like number of Scots under the command of Ouïmes; but the duke of Joyeuſe would not permit it to be executed.

I FOUND this general gloomy and diſcontented, and gueſſed ſo truly the cauſe of his uneaſineſs, that when he told me he ſhould ſoon ſet out for § Monteſor, I replied without heſitation, that he could go very eaſily from thence to the court. At theſe words he turned towards my brother, as accuſing him of having revealed what had paſſed. Though he knew that there was nothing in it, he imagined his diſgrace was certain, ſince the report of it had already reached Rochelle; and it was this, I believe, that confirmed him in his reſolution to go and deſtroy, by his preſence, the cabals of his enemies. However, he concealed his ſentiments, and coldly anſwered, that I ſuffered myſelf to be deceived by my too great diſcernment; and endeavoured to perſuade me, that he had no intentions of returning to Paris: but I was ſo well aſſured of the contrary, that I went back immediately to the king of Navarre, to concert with him proper meaſures for drawing ſome advantage from an abſence which would leave the catholic army without leaders; for I did not doubt but many of the general officers would take this journey likewiſe: in effect, Joyeuſe was no ſooner ſet out, than his whole army, already badly diſciplined, lived without order and obedience.

§ In Touraine.

THE

THE king of Navarre, who had secretly assembled twelve hundred men, which he had drawn out of his garrisons, fell so seasonably upon the companies of Vic, of Bellemaniere, the marquis of Resnel, Ronsey, and Pienne, and even upon that of the duke of Joyeuse, that finding part of them in bed, and part at the table, he cut them all in pieces. He oftener than once alarmed the whole army, which was now under the command of Lavardin. He followed it to la Haye in Touraine, and found means to keep it, as it were, besieged during four or five days. If on this occasion he had had forces sufficient to have enabled him to keep his post longer, it is my opinion, that hunger would have delivered the whole army into his power, the soldiers spreading themselves over the villages, and neglecting their safety to get provisions. We passed the river, and surprized them every moment.

DURING this short space of time, we killed and took above six hundred men. With six horse only, I went into a village full of soldiers; they were so accustomed to be beaten, that I ordered the arms of those who were at the tables, and upon the beds, to be seized, and their matches to be put out, without their offering to repulse us, although they were forty in number. I brought them to the king of Navarre, and they enlisted in his troops.

THE count of Soissons *, who was discontented with the court, had long given the king of Navarre hopes, that he would come over to his party, and this prince neglected nothing that could keep him in this favourable disposition. The negligence of the catholic army afforded them both the opportunity they waited for. The count of Soissons took the road towards the Loire, and the king of Navarre sent

* Charles of Bourbon, fourth son of Lewis I. prince of Condé, who was slain at Jarnac, and brother to Henry I. prince of Condé, of Francis, prince of Conti, and the young cardinal, Charles of Bourbon, but by another mother, Frances d'Orleans de Longueville.

all

all his troops to Rofiers to facilitate this prince's paſſage over the river. They ſerved him likewiſe to ſeize the baggage of the duke de Mercœur; the great convoy that eſcorted it, was attacked ſo ſuddenly near a bank, that they ſurrendered without ſtriking a blow, and the baggage, which was extremely rich, was entirely pillaged. My part of the booty amounted to two thouſand crowns. My brothers were no longer in this army; I had obtained a paſſport for them to leave la Haye.

THIS ſervice was repaid by another of the ſame kind; they procured me a paſſport for Paris, whither a preſſing occaſion called me. At this time the perſecution againſt the proteſtants was at its height. On which ſide ſoever they turned, inevitable ruin awaited them: in the villages, where every one became a ſoldier, in order to pillage, their houſes could not ſecure them from the fury of their perſecutors; and in Paris, and other great cities, they were expoſed to rigorous ſearches, which the zeal of religion inſpired, and the deſire of being enriched by their ſpoils made but too ſeverely executed. Princes will often ſee themſelves ſubjected to misfortunes like theſe, while they know not how far their rights * and duties with regard to religion extend. They cannot puniſh with too much ſeverity, a crime by which nature, ſociety, or the laws, are wounded.

* 'Tis true, it never has been demonſtrated, that religion obliges ſovereigns to perſecute thoſe who make profeſſion of another faith, but this does not hinder the maxims which the duke of Sully eſtabliſhes here from being very dangerous, in that they ſeem to diſcharge kings from that indiſpenſable obligation they are under to preſerve the true religion; an obligation which includes that of making the worſhip, and all the exterior practices of it, to be exactly obſerved; which is equally conformable to the principles of a wiſe policy, as to thoſe of religion; a fatal experience having but too well ſhewn, that it is much more neceſſary to prevent all diſputes upon matters of religion, than to ſilence them when they are begun. After the confeſſion monſieur de Sully ſo often makes in his Memoirs of that ſpirit of revolt, and independence, which conducted all the ſteps of the calviniſt party in France, it is ſtrange he is not ſenſible that, according to his own maxims, this body deſerved to ſuffer all the rigour of

A religion that is capable of authorizing such actions, becomes necessarily the object of all the rigour of their justice; and then only is religion subjected to the power of crowned heads; but their jurisdiction does not extend over consciences, in that precept that regards our love of God, the different comments of which form the difference of religions. The sovereign Lord of all reserves to himself whatever relates to speculation, and leaves to princes all that tends to destroy the common practice of it. Ignorance, or contempt of this maxim, was the cause of great misery to the protestants: those whose estates were large enough to admit of their living in Paris, chose that as the least dangerous way, because of the ease with which they could keep themselves unknown in a city so full of tumult and confusion.

My wife had retired thither some time, having used the precaution to take a borrowed name; to her was added, besides the common misfortunes, that of being far advanced in her pregnancy, during which she wanted all kinds of conveniencies. When I supposed she drew near her time, the apprehensions of what might happen to her in this condition, made me resolve to take a journey to Paris. I found her just delivered of a son, to whom I gave for godfather the lord of Rueres, then a prisoner in the jail of the parliament, and the child was carried from the baptismal font to church, by a citizen named Chaufaille and his wife; for the protestants did not cease to meet in churches, and hold assemblies, notwithstanding the severe informations that were made against them. At this very time, several women were burnt upon that occasion; the dangers I ran myself were extremely great, and I avoided them only by not

of the law. This place, in my opinion, sufficiently justifies what I have said in the preface to this work, that it is more proper to relate all the author's sentiments in theology, than to suppress them. It is not possible to understand his meaning here upon the subject of charity. Obscurity is generally a proof of false principles, and weak reasoning.

being

being known, which was indeed an amazing instance of good fortune.

At last the number of spies increasing in all parts of the city, the search was so diligent that nothing could escape. I did not think it possible to stay any longer in Paris, without exposing myself to evident danger. I left it therefore alone, and in disguise, and fled to Villepreux; and from thence I took a bye-road to Rosny.

The duke of Joyeuse had been received in Paris with praises and acclamations, which ought to have made him blush in secret for not having deserved them. They did not, however, hinder him from being sensibly affected with the defeat of his army, of which he was soon informed. He endeavoured by all possible means to make satisfaction for this loss, which in the disposition the king was in with regard to him, was not a difficult task. His arrival had disconcerted all the secret practices of his enemies, and his favour † with Henry was risen to such a height, that he could refuse him nothing. All the courtiers attached themselves to him, and he set out again for Guienne with the flower of the French nobility, while several other bodies of troops, taking separate ways, assembled at the rendezvous he had appointed for them.

These different marches of the troops made the roads so dangerous, that I found no other means of returning to Rochelle, but by altering the date of my passport, which was expired. By this little fraud I got safe to the king of Navarre, whom I found employed in taking measures to prevent the dreadful storm he saw ready to burst upon him. He drew together all the soldiers he could find in Poitou,

" † In his embassy to Rome, he was treated as the king's brother: " he had a heart worthy of his great fortune. One day having made " the two secretaries of state wait too long in the king's anti-cham- " ber, he excused himself by resigning up to them a hundred thou- " sand crowns which the king had just given him." Notes upon the Henriade.

Anjou,

Anjou, Touraine, and Berry, and sent orders to the prince of Condé, the count of Soissons, messieurs de Turenne, de la Trémouille, and Rochefoucault, to join him with all the forces they had: yet, with all these supplies, his troops were greatly inferior to those of the duke of Joyeuse. They only served to put him in a condition of opening a way through Guienne, Languedoc, and the Lyonnois, towards the source of the Loire, where he depended upon meeting the German auxiliaries. He made use of all his endeavours to accomplish this junction, before the troops of Joyeuse were all joined. This prince, therefore, advanced with his army towards Montlieu, Montguyon, and la Roche-Chalais ‡, but always closely followed and watched by the enemy's general, who having penetrated into his design, thought he ought not to wait for the arrival of the marechal de Matignon, nor of several other regiments that were coming to join him, lest he should lose an opportunity, which he might never be able to recover. His forces were already so much superior to the king of Navarre's, that this resolution could not be accused of rashness and temerity; and the king, who never hazarded a dangerous action, but when obliged to it by necessity, instead of seeking the battle, thought of nothing but how to get the river between them, that he might pursue his march without opposition, and gain the Dordogne, upon which he had several strong forts which might stop the enemy's pursuit.

With these dispositions on both sides, the king of Navarre arrived at the pass of Chalais and Aubeterre. It was of great importance to him to gain Coutras §, a post that might favour this passage, and no less to Joyeuse to hinder it. He sent Lavardin to possess

‡ Cities upon the borders of Saintonge, of Guienne, and Perigord, as were Chalais, and Aubeterre.

§ Coutras, a city of Guienne, upon the borders also of Perigord, at the confluence of the rivers of Lille and Droume.

himself

himself of it; but la Trémouille, being more diligent, prevented him, and maintained himself in it, after a very sharp skirmish. The king of Navarre resolved to take advantage of this post to attempt the pass, and marched thither in the night, reserving to himself the care of conducting the troops over, and left that of the baggage, particularly the artillery, to Clermont, Bois-du-Lys, Mignonville, and me. As it was necessary to make use of all possible dispatch, we set ourselves to work immediately, having the water up to our knees. One half was already got to the other side of the river, when the scouts, whom the king of Navarre had sent during the night to make discoveries, returned with some prisoners they had taken, and informed us, that Joyeuse, having resolved to force the king of Navarre to a battle, had marched all night, and would be up with him at furthest by seven or eight o'clock in the morning. This intelligence convinced the king that our labour was not only useless, but extremely dangerous, because if found by the enemy employed in passing the river, that part of his troops which should remain on this side of it must be inevitably defeated, as it could receive no assistance from the troops on the other. Those who had already got over, were ordered to return immediately. Our labour was now redoubled, and to add to it, we lost Mignonville ‖, for whom the king had occasion. Although we were extremely weakened by the fatigue we had suffered, yet that did not hinder the king from pointing out to us an eminence, upon which he expressed a wish that his artillery could have been placed, but durst not hope that we should have time to gain it. In effect, we already discovered the enemy's van.

‖ Mignonville, who was slain soon after before Nonancour, when Henry IV. stormed that city. He was marechal de camp, and an excellent officer. Henry had a great number of subaltern officers of uncommon merit and abilities in his army; such were Montgomery, Bellezuns, Montausier, Vaudoré, des Ageaux, Favas, whom the historians, in relating this battle, have mentioned with honour.

Luckily

Luckily Joyeuse, who without doubt was not sufficiently acquainted with the ground, or suffered himself to be too far transported by his ardour, had given orders for fixing his artillery in a place so low, that afterwards finding it would be useless, he caused it to be removed, and by that means gave us leisure to place our own. It must be confessed, that this general, by some means or other, drew but little advantage from his artillery, and that this was one of the chief causes of his losing the battle. This shews, that there is nothing more necessary for the general of an army than an exact and piercing sight, which shortens distances, and prevents confusion. I never knew a general that possessed this quality in an equal degree with the king of Navarre *.

THE § battle was already began, before our artillery, which consisted only of three pieces of cannon, was fixed, and we had soon occasion for it. The troops in monsieur de Turenne's quarter behaved very ill; that of la Trémouille was forced the first shock, which was beginning to throw the whole army into disorder. The catholics cried out victory; and indeed they wanted but little of being victorious; but at the same moment our artillery began to play, and so terrible † was the fire, that

* Le Grain makes him pronounce this military harangue to his soldiers, "My friends, behold here a prey much more considerable "than any of your former booties; it is a bridegroom, who has still "the nuptial portion in his pocket, and all the chief courtiers with "him." Dec. of Henry the Great, book iv.

§ It began the 20th of October, at nine o'clock in the morning, and was ended at ten. The victory was complete, five thousand of the enemy were left dead upon the place, and five hundred taken prisoners. In the king of Navarre's army, there were but very few soldiers slain, and not one prisoner of distinction. De Thou, book lxxxvii. Mem. of du Plessis, book i. D'Aubigné, vol. III. book i. Matthieu, vol. I. book viii. p. 533. Father Daniel, in his history of France, vol. IX. 4to. gives an exact description of the battle of Coutras. I could have wished to have transcribed the whole article here.

"† The first fire of the artillery, says le Grain, carried off seven "captains of the regiment of Picardy, the best and most warlike in "the duke's army." Book iv.

every

every discharge carried away twelve, fifteen, an
sometimes five and twenty men. It put a stop im
mediately to the impetuosity of the enemies, an
reduced them to such an extremity, that seeking t
avoid the fire, they dispersed, and offered only a dis
orderly and ill-sustained body to the efforts of th
king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and th
count of Soissons, who scoured the field at the hea
of three squadrons. These three princes ‡ per
formed prodigies of valour in this battle; they over
threw all that opposed them, and striding over th
bodies of the dead to meet new dangers, their arm
were all batter'd with blows. The face of things wa
changed in an instant, and the death of the catholi
general ‖ gave the protestants a complete victory.

As soon as I beheld the enemy fly, I abandone
the cannon, which were now useless, and mount
ing a horse which Bois-breuil kept ready for m
behind the artillery, I flew to learn tidings of m
brothers, and I had the consolation to hear, tha
neither of them had been in the battle. I met th
king of Navarre busy in dispersing * the fugitives
and completing his victory, which he did, nc
thinking himself secure while there remained any t

‡ All I shall say to you," said the king of Navarre to ther
" is, that you are of the house of Bourbon, and, please God, I wi
" shew you, that I am your eldest brother."

His valour was that day far superior to all the others. He wore
plume of white feathers on his helmet, to make himself remarkabl
Some of his friends throwing themselves before him, to defend an
cover his person, he cried, " Give me room, I beseech you; yo
" stifle me; I would be seen." He forced the first ranks of th
enemy, took several prisoners with his own hand, and collared an o
ficer named Château Regnard, cornet of a company of foot, saying
Yield thee, Philistine. Perefixe, ibid.

‖ Slain in cold blood, by la Mothe St. Henry; others say, by tw
captains of foot, named Bordeaux, and Descentiers.

* Some persons seeing the fugitives halt, came and told him, tha
the marechal de Matignon's army was in sight: he received thos
tidings as a new subject of glory, and turning courageously to h
men, Let us go, my friends, said he: two battles in one day,
what has never before been seen. Perefixe, ibid.

oppos

oppose him. The bodies of Joyeuse and St. Sauveur his brother †, were drawn from beneath a heap of carcases, and laid upon a table in the hall of the castle of Coutras, and a coarse sheet thrown over them ‡.

****

BOOK III.

THAT the protestant party might have derived great advantages from the victory of Coutras, and that they did not, is equally true. I am sincere enough to confess, that the king of Navarre did not, upon this occasion, do all he might with a victorious army, and master of the field: if he had advanced to meet the foreign auxiliaries, nothing could have prevented their junction; and, after a stroke so important, his party would have at least been equal to the catholics. 'Tis certain, that the true value of a moment is never known, the wisest are deceived §,

† Claude de Joyeuse, the youngest of seven sons of William duke of Joyeuse.

‡ The following is an anecdote, the truth of which I cannot answer for. However, the reader may not be displeased to see it here; I met with it in the Memoirs of Amelot de la Houssaye, vol. II. p. 443. who relates it as drawn from the history of the lords of Enghien, by Colins. This author speaks thus, "The king of Navarre gained the victory, to the great satisfaction of the king of "France, who secretly corresponded with the victorious army, "through the faithful interposition of the marquis of Rosny, of the "house of Bethune, now duke of Sully, who remained unknown at "Paris." This author seems to have been acquainted with the duke of Sully's secret negotiations with Henry III. already mentioned; but he is mistaken in this, that these negotiations produced no effect, since the duke of Joyeuse was still highly favoured by this prince, at least if we may believe monsieur de Sully, who ought to know better than any other: And that Sully could not be at Paris, because he was at the battle; and that even the last journey he took there, some time before, had no other motive than the desire of seeing and assisting his wife.

§ Our best historians agree in these two things, that the king of Navarre knew not how to take the advantage of his victory, and that he did not do all he might have done. D'Aubigné is almost the only person

The ambitious designs, and self-interested views of the several leaders in the victorious army, snatched from the king of Navarre the fruits of his victory; but this is a truth few people are acquainted with.

THE prince of Condé being seduced by the advice of Trémouille, thought the time was now come, when he could execute the bold scheme he had long before meditated, which was to dismember the crown of France of Anjou, Poitou, the countries of Aunis, Saintonge, and Angoumois, to compose of them an independent sovereignty. With this view, he hastily withdrew the troops he had brought to the general army, and turned all his thoughts to the reduction of Saintes and Brouage, which he flattered himself he should be master of at the first alarm; and that afterwards, nothing would be able to oppose him. So true it is, that ambition resembles that bird in the fable, who has a strong wing, and an insatiable hunger †.

person who exculpates this prince's officers, and lays the blame wholly upon him. Vol. III. b. i. c. xv.

† The duke of Sully does not agree here with d'Aubigné, du Plessis Mornay, and the author of the life of the duke of Bouillon; it is probable he had better memoirs than them all, with regard to the design he attributes to the prince and the duke on this occasion; but I am afraid, there was some prejudice and passion on his side. In my opinion, monsieur de Thou is better able than any other person to decide this question: speaking of the consequences of the battle of Coutras, he says, that a council being assembled to deliberate upon what measures were necessary to be taken, the prince of Condé proposed, that they should go to meet the foreign troops along the side of the Loire, and secure them a passage over this river, by seizing Saumur; that this advice was not followed, for reasons which he relates, and which are very bad; and it was agreed only, that the prince of Condé should go, with what troops they could spare him, to join to the German army towards the source of the Loire, taking his way thro' the heart of Angoumois and Limosin. That the king of Navarre, on his side, seeing himself abandoned by the greatest part of the nobility of Poitou and Saintonge, marched towards St. Foi in Agenois, from whence he took the route to Pau, leaving the conduct of his little army to the viscount de Turenne; who not willing to let the soldiers be idle, besieged Sarlat in Perigord, designing at least to lay it under contribution, if he could not take it. This is what de Thou says, to which may be added, a very important circumstance, and at the same time a very true one, since neither the duke of

THE viſcount Turenne having the ſame deſigns upon the Limoſin, and Perigord, where he already poſſeſſed great eſtates, purſued the ſame conduct with the prince of Condé; and obliging all his troops (which alone compoſed one third of the army) to follow him, led them to the ſiege of Sarlat, ſoothing them with hopes that this expedition would enrich even the meaneſt ſoilder. He fully juſtified the proverb, that great promiſers perform the leaſt: the check he received before this little paltry town, ought to have convinced him in time of the vanity of his pretenſions. The viſcount had no one to accuſe but himſelf for this misfortune; as for the king of Navarre, he had acted quite contrary to his advice.

THE count of Soiſſons concealed his deſigns with more art; however, it is certain, that his new attachment to the king of Navarre was not ſincere, and that it was intereſt alone which induced him to it. He had gained the heart of the princeſs Cathe-

of Bouillon, nor his apologiſts, could contradict it: which is, that it was the viſcount himſelf who rejected the prince of Condé's prudent advice. From all this it follows, that the prince of Condé was not guilty of what he is here accuſed of, which is further confirmed by d'Aubigné, who adds, that it was upon a promiſe the king of Navarre made him to join him ſoon, that he advanced to Angoumois, where he waited a long time to no purpoſe. The prince, however, is not cleared of having had likewiſe views of independence, of which no hiſtorian doubts.

Although the viſcount Turenne appears to have acted upon this occaſion in conſequence of the reſolution of a general council; yet, in my opinion, we are not the leſs authorized to think diſadvantageouſly of him. It is bad reaſoning in Marſolier to grant on one ſide, that he was inſtigated by his ambition to wicked deſigns, and on the other ſide to complain, that thoſe deſigns are ſuppoſed the motives of his conduct. This is to deſtroy the idea he would give us of the duke of Bouillon, as of the greateſt politician of his time. Theſe raſh judgments are condemned by religion, but are allowed by the laws of hiſtory; and political conjectures are often reduced to this foundation alone.

As for what has been ſaid in the ſame place againſt the count of Soiſſons, it is, and will be ſtill more ſupported hereafter by unanſwerable proofs. De Thou, book lxxxvii. Memoirs du Pleſſis, book i. D'Aubigné, vol. III. chap. xv. Marſolier's Hiſtory of Henry duke of Bouillon, vol. I. book iii.

rine, the king's ſiſter, and he was continually expreſſing to this prince, the earneſt deſire he had of uniting himſelf more cloſely to him by marriage; but this deſign concealed another too ſhameful for him to ſuffer to appear. His pretenſions by this marriage were, to ſubſtitute himſelf in the place of the king of Navarre; and as he ſaw no probability that this prince, having the pope, Spain, and the French catholics for his enemies, ſhould ever accompliſh his deſigns, he depended upon enriching himſelf with his ſpoils, and upon gaining, at leaſt, the great eſtates which make up the apenage of the houſe of Albret on this ſide the Loire. Such being his intentions, he took care neither to aſſiſt him with his advice, or his arm, to puſh his laſt victory further; on the contrary, he ſeized that moment to preſs him ſo earneſtly to allow him to go to Bearn to viſit the princeſs his ſiſter, that the king, ſeeing himſelf in a more deſtitute condition than if he had loſt the battle, thought he was obliged, in gratitude for the aſſiſtance the count had given him, to grant him this ſatisfaction. He himſelf was alſo dragged thither (and the count was not ignorant of it) by a paſſion which had always been the weakneſs of this prince. Love called him back to the counteſs of Guiche, to lay at her feet the colours he had taken from the enemy, which he had cauſed to be ſet apart for that purpoſe.

Accordingly they took the road together to Bearn. Happily this unſeaſonable journey did not produce all the diſadvantages that might have been reaſonably expected from it: it was ſo far of uſe to the king of Navarre, as to give him a more perfect knowledge of the perſon on whom he was going to beſtow his ſiſter. The count of Soiſſons could not ſo well diſſemble his ſentiments, but that the king gueſſed at ſome part of them; and a letter, which he received from Paris, fully revealed them. By this letter he was informed, that the count of Soiſ-

ſons

sons had taken this step purely at the instigation of the ecclesiastics, who had fallen upon this stratagem to deprive him of all his possessions: that the count had solemnly sworn to them, as soon as he had married the princess, he would bring her with him to Paris, and abandon for ever the party of his benefactor, and afterwards concert measures with them to finish the rest. The king of Navarre received this letter at his return from hunting, when he was just ready to fall into the snare that was laid for him; and it gave him an aversion to the count, which nothing was ever able to remove. He broke with him, and regretted too late, that he had abandoned himself to his advice.

I HAD not the mortification of being a witness to all these resolutions which were taken after the battle of Coutras, and which I should in vain have opposed. Some days before these extravagant and senseless schemes had possessed the minds of the principal officers in our army, the king of Navarre took me aside, in a garden, and asked my opinion concerning the condition into which this last action had put his affairs. I told him, that I thought it necessary he should march immediately with all his force towards the source of the Loire, to receive the foreign supplies, or, what would answer the same end, to facilitate their passage, by taking possession of all the towns on this side of the river; and which, except Poitiers and Angoulême, which he might leave, seemed not difficult to be won. By this means he would at least secure to himself the finest and best provinces, from whence he could not be driven in a short time, nor by very inconsiderable forces.

THE king of Navarre approved of this advice, and appeared resolved to follow it exactly. He told me, that he had just sent ‖ Montglat to the foreign army, and that since he could not go to put himself at the head of it, he ardently wished the prince of

‖ Lewis de Harlai, lord of Montglat.

Conti § would accept of that charge; having received letters from this prince, in which he offered to assist him in person: and he added that, under pretence of going to the royal army, the prince of Conti might join the auxiliaries without danger. The king then left to me the care of prevailing upon the prince to take this step, and recommended to me to use all my endeavours to secure the success of it.

I SET out from the army, charged only with a letter of three lines, and sending my equipage to Pons, passed through Maine; where I expected to have found the prince, by means of the acquaintance I had with the governors of those places through which he must pass. I learnt, at my arrival, that the prince of Conti set out by himself two days before; and had not so well concealed his march, but that his intelligence with the foreigners was suspected, which was the cause that the roads were filled with the detachments which were sent after him; and therefore I was obliged to take a circuit, in order to join him, and to pass by Rosny; from whence coming to Neaufle, I was there informed of what had happened. The Germans entering without order, and without guides, into provinces unknown, stopped by large rivers, harrassed continually by the troops of the league, had at length been totally defeated at Auneau*: that the Swiss,

§ Francis de Bourbon, prince of Conti, second son to Lewis I. prince of Condé, and Eleanora de Roye. He died in 1614, leaving no children by his two marriages.

* See a detail of this in de Thou, book lxxxvii. D'Aubigné, vol. III. book i. Matthieu, vol. I. book viii. p. 537. Chron. Novenn. vol. I. p. 59. and particularly the Memoirs of the league, vol. I. where it is observed, that at the time this army was encamped near the river Yonne, Montglat came from the king of Navarre, to desire the commanders of it would march towards the source of the Loire, where he would put himself at their head; but they did not think proper to do so. The leaders were, the baron d'Onau, or Dona, Guitry, Clervant, Beauvois la Nocle, &c. If they had obeyed this order, the king of Navarre, then returning from Bearn, would have had time to join them with all his troops, and the army would not

to avoid the like misfortune, had enlisted, to the number of twelve thousand, in the troops of the league: that the king of Navarre was at Bearn, his forces unemployed, and dispersed on all sides.

THIS mournful news stopped my journey, and rendered my commission useless. Nothing now remained for me to do, but to turn back to Rosny; where, while I secretly deplored the fatal consequences of our bad conduct, I feigned, for my security, to take part in the public rejoicings, for the defeat at Auneau. I visited my estates in Normandy; and while I was expecting those remedies, which time, and the king of Navarre's return might bring to our calamities, I learnt that this prince had left Bearn, and I went to join him at Bergerac, where the news of the taking of Castillon consoled him a little, amidst so many causes for affliction. The siege of this place had cost the duke of Maïenne a million of crowns, and the viscount Turenne retook it for less than two ‖.

A LITTLE time afterwards, we were informed of two accidents that were likely enough to change the face of affairs; one was the death of the prince of Condé §, a death as sudden as tragical: the imprisonment of some of his chief attendants, and the

not have been defeated. Davila, in his eighth book, relates the duke of Guise's reply to the duke of Maïenne, who was sensible of the danger of attacking an enemy so much superior in number: "Those, "said he, that do not care to fight, may stay here. What I cannot "resolve upon in half an hour, I never resolve on my whole life."

‖ By means of a ladder of cords.

§ Notwithstanding the secret jealousy that subsisted between the prince of Condé and the king of Navarre, yet the king was extremely afflicted for his loss, and shutting himself up in his cabinet with the count of Soissons, he was heard to send forth great cries, and to say, "That he had lost his right hand." Perefixe, History of Henry the great, part I. This prince was called Henry, and was son to Lewis of Bourbon, first prince of Condé. He had no children by his first wife; after whom he married Charlotte Catherine de la Trémouille, whom at his death he left three months gone with child. It is a great error which was spread among the people, that Henry of Condé, the twelfth of that name, was born thirteen months after the death of his father. He was born the 1st of September following.

puniſhment of one of his domeſtics *, who was torn to pieces by four horſes, left no room to doubt that he died by poiſon. The news of the populace riſing †

* The name of this domeſtic was Brillant. One of his pages was executed in effigy. The princeſs herſelf was comprehended in this accuſation. René Cumont, the lieutenant-particulier of St. Jean, commenced a proceſs againſt her, which was ſuſpended on account of the birth of Henry II. prince of Condé. After ſix years impriſonment, the princeſs preſented a petition to the parliament of Paris, who brought this affair before their tribunal, and acquitted Charlotte Catherine de la Trémouille of the crime of which ſhe was accuſed. The prince of Condé died at St. John d'Angely, March the 5th, 1588, aged thirty-five years. De Thou, book xc. Moriſot, I know not upon what authority, ſays, that the death of the prince of Condé might be occaſioned by a wound he received in his ſide, by a lance, at the battle of Coutras. Henry Magn. cap. xii. p. 27.

† I ſhall not give a detail of it here, as it would be too long, and may beſides be found in a great many other books. It is ſufficient to ſay, that Henry III. to prevent the dangerous deſigns of the league, having ordered about ſix thouſand troops, the moſt part Swiſs, to enter Paris, and ſpreading them in different quarters of the city, the people roſe, and being kept together by ſome of the chiefs of the league, fortified themſelves in the ſtreets, repulſed the ſoldiers, diſarmed the Swiſs, defeated the king's guards, and carried the barricades within fifty paces of the Louvre, &c. Henry III. ſeeing himſelf ready to be beſieged in the Louvre, and not willing to expoſe himſelf to the violence of an enraged populace, went out privately by the Tuilleries, and the ſuburb Mantmantre, from whence he got to Chartres. The affair was afterwards turned into a negotiation between the queen-mother and the duke of Guiſe, and the abſolute deciſion of it remitted to the ſtates of Blois.

I obſerve, after d'Aubigne, that it was very fortunate for Henry III. that his troops ſeized and kept poſſeſſion of the ſuburb St. Honore, and the back of the Tuilleries; and that no one of the league thought of ſeizing theſe quarters. Thoſe who guarded the gate of Neſſe fired at a diſtance upon the king's troop, and ſeeing the ferry-boat of the Tuilleries approach, in which they ſuppoſed the king to be, cut the cable. Chronol. Noven. tom. I.

Henry III. was on his ſide guilty of a much greater fault, in forbidding Crillon, colonel of the French guards, to take poſſeſſion of the ſquare Maubert, and the quarter of the univerſity, and by hindering his ſoldiers from firing upon the populace; who, by a ſtep more firm and ſeaſonable, might have been retained in their duty. The duke of Guiſe waited ſix whole days at Soiſſons, not daring to come to Paris, contrary to the king's orders, which were ſignified to him by Bellièvre, in two letters that he ſent him at different times by the poſt. They were to blame, as Matthieu the hiſtorian alſo obſerves, vol. I. book viii. for not ſending theſe letters by an expreſs to the duke of Guiſe; for the duke imagined, that he might elude this order, by denying he had received the letters, as in effect he did at the queen's palace,

at Paris †, and barricading the ſtreets, and of the king's departure from that city, followed ſoon after,

lace, in the preſence of the king and Belliévre, to whom he proteſted, with deep oaths, that they were never delivered to him. This fault was not committed through negligence, but becauſe they had not five and twenty crowns to ſpare to pay the courier for his journey.

Henry III. was adviſed by the duke of Epernon, to ſuffer his guards to aſſaſſinate the duke of Guiſe as he came to the Louvre; and this prince, they ſay, would have engaged la Gueſle and Villequier in the deſign, but they diſſuaded him from it. It is reported alſo, that the ſame day, wherein the ſtreets were barricaded, Alphonſo d'Ornano aſſured him, he would bring him the head of the duke of Guiſe, if he would permit him. In a word, it is thought, that the king did not make uſe of half the precautions he might have done, informed as he was of all the deſigns of the league, having himſelf narrowly miſſed being taken as he was going to Vincennes: and had juſt been convinced by what had happened at the impriſonment of la Morliere, a famous leaguer, that the people only waited for an opportunity of inſulting him. The king's council acted without compariſon better in that affair of la Morliere, than on the day of the barricades. Memoirs of the league, vol. V. Satyr. Menip.

The duke's deſign in this enterprize has given riſe to great diſputes, which I cannot here enter into a detail of; in this, as in all other dubious matters, much has been ſaid pro and con. Thoſe who will have it, that he intended to carry, or ſuffer the people to carry things to an extremity, to ſeize the king's perſon, in a word, to put the crown upon his own head, ſupport their aſſertions by ſome writings of great conſequence, to which I am obliged to refer the reader. See the firſt vol. of the Memoirs of the league, and the vol. marked 8866, in the king's library: the chief of which are, A letter written to him by the ducheſs of Lorrain, after the victory of Auneau, in which ſhe adviſes him to make uſe of the preſent opportunity to declare himſelf king, &c. A letter written by the duke himſelf the next day after the fortifications in the ſtreets of Paris, to the governor of Orleans, wherein are theſe words, "I have vanquiſhed the Swiſs, cut in pieces part of "the king's guards, and hold the Louvre ſo cloſely inveſted, that I "ſhall be able to give a good account of thoſe that are within. This "victory is ſo great, that it will never be forgot," &c. Many other letters, in which he mentions the king very diſreſpectfully, and the princes of the blood with the utmoſt contempt; to this they add, the diſcontent the duke diſcovered, and the reproaches he made the queen-mother, for having amuſed him with conferences, while his prey eſcaped him. In fine, the writings that were, ſay they, publiſhed by his commands; wherein was attempted to be proved, the pretended right the houſe of Lorrain had to the crown, not to mention an infinite number of other pieces, which were indeed but ſo many ſatirical libels againſt Francis duke of Guiſe, reproaching him with having attempted to aſſert his chimerical claims upon Anjou and Provence; and the cardinal his brother, with endeavouring to make himſelf ſoverſign of Metz, under the protection of the emperor, a project which

† Thurſday May 12.

and was spread every where by the courier, who was sent with an account of it to the duke of Epernon.

the vigilance of Salcede prevented the execution of; but he lost his head for it: and for having treated about religion with the king of Spain, at the council of Trent, without his master's participation. The greatest part of these writings are still in every body's hands.

For the duke's justification they bring those arguments made use of by himself in a letter, or a sort of manifesto, which he drew up the same day, being the 13th of May. He there declares, that the report of the king's intention to fill the city with foreigners, and to fall upon the citizens with them, was the true cause of the populace rising; that, instead of supporting them, he had made use of his utmost endeavours, till two hours after midnight, to calm the tumult; that he had preserved the Swiss, and prevented the massacre; that he had intreated the rebels to respect the royal authority; and that, far from attempting any thing against the king's person, "I might, said he, "have stopped him a thousand times, if I had been inclined to do so," &c. Add to this, that in treating with the queen-mother, he required nothing but the destruction of the protestants, and that religion should be secured; and declared likewise, that it was not in his own name he treated, but in that of the cardinal of Bourbon, whose interests he supported against those of the king of Navarre, and the other princes of the blood.

I do not find it sufficiently proved against the duke of Guise, that his design was to place himself upon the throne, after the death of Henry III. and the cardinal of Bourbon; and this is very extraordinary. What ambitious man, and in his place, could have resisted the suggestions of the pope, the king of Spain, and a great part of Europe, who all conspired for his elevation? See the duke of Parma's opinion of this event, Davila, book ix. "The duke of Guise made shew of "doing too much, and in reality did too little: he ought to have remembered, that whoever draws his sword against his prince, ought "to have that instant thrown away the scabbard." Sixtus V. when he received the news, cried out, "Oh that presumptuous duke, and that weak "king." "The earl of Stafford, ambassador from England, (I relate this anecdote in the words of le Grain, book iv.) "being advised to take a "safe-conduct from the duke of Guise, I will have no other security, "said he, than the law of nations, and the protection of the king to "whom I am sent, whose servants and subjects you and the duke of "Guise both are." The first president de Harlay answered the duke of Guise with the same firmness, That in the king's absence, he would take his orders from the queen-mother.

There is one piece upon the different conduct of the league and council, before and after the mutiny in Paris, that deserves to be read, and is entitled, The Verbal Process of Nicolas Poulain, the mayor of Paris, upon the league, from 1585 to 1588. This Nicolas Poulain, who secretly favoured the king's party, often gave good advice in this affair, which was never followed. This piece of secret history is to be found in the first vol. of the Journal of Henry III's reign, p. 132, and following.

To

To this abject condition a king saw himself reduced, who neither knew how to prevent, to stifle, or to divide factions, who amused himself with conjecturing, when he ought to have acted, who exerted neither prudence nor fortitude, nor was even acquainted with the characters of those whom he commanded, nor those that were nearest his person. The revolutions which happen in great states, are not produced by chance, or the caprice of the people; 'tis a weak and disorderly government that causes rebellions, for the populace never rise through a desire of attacking, but an impatience of suffering.

The just resentment that filled the heart of the king of Navarre, for an insult so cruel, offered to one of his own blood, and which, in some degree, reflected a disgrace upon all crowned heads, effaced in a moment the remembrance of Henry III's injurious treatment of himself. He declared his affliction at it in his council, who all with one voice approved of his resolution to assist and defend the king of France; and he sent his secretary immediately to this prince, to assure him, that he might dispose of his person and troops.

The count of Soissons, whose mind was ingrossed by perpetual chimeras looked upon this event as a stroke of fortune, which by ridding him of all his rivals, would give him the chief sway in the council, and court of Henry III. Changing therefore his battery in an instant, he resolved to go and offer his service to this prince; and to give himself more consequence with him, he sought dependents in the court of the king of Navarre, and from amongst his most affectionate servants, whose fidelity he did not scruple upon this occasion to tempt. The king of Navarre, though he was pretty sensible of all the baseness of this conduct, dissembled his sentiments of it; and reflecting that it would be of use to him to have some person with the count of Soissons, in whom he could confide, to watch all his motions, and study

the new system he pursued at court; he commanded me to give ear to this prince's discourse, and to affect a zeal for him that I was very far from feeling. The count of Soissons suffered himself to be easily deceived; he congratulated himself for having gained me, and treated me with a distinction that did not fail to raise me some enemies, who envied me the share I possessed of his favour. I accompanied him in his journey, after having received instructions from the king of Navarre, and concerted with him those measures which his service required me to take upon this occasion.

During our whole journey, the count continually entertained me with the favour, the magnificence, and the honours that waited him at court. The king of Navarre, he thought, would not even attempt to rival him: amidst all the strokes of vanity, and insupportable pride which escaped him, there mingled, without his perceiving it, a kind of bitterness against the king of Navarre, that sufficiently discovered the hatred and antipathy he bore him. I could neither submit to flatter his inclinations, nor to approve of his ridiculous schemes; and all my answer was, that I foresaw the disunion of the royal family, which had already been the cause of so many misfortunes, would bring France at last under the power of the house of Austria, after it had made them destroy each other. A discourse more soothing would have been more to his taste; but mine, however, seemed to bear the marks of a sincere attachment to him, which could not fail of pleasing.

We arrived at Nogent-le-Rotrou, and afterwards at Mante, where the king of France was. We found him in that restless and unquiet disposition of mind, which a violent resentment occasions, and filled with confusion for the affront he had so lately suffered. Notwithstanding all this, he was so incapable of taking the advantage of the change in his affairs *, that

* It is believed, that if Henry III. had acted with more prudence and

even at that very time he made the duke of Epernon admiral, and ſoon after gave him the government of Normandy, vacant by the death of the mareſchal Joyeuſe. The count of Soiſſons was received in a manner ſo different from what he expected, that there needed no more to convince him of the folly of his great projects. The king, addreſſing himſelf to me, aſked me if I had quitted the king of Navarre's party; I evaded this perplexing queſtion, by telling him, that in coming to offer my ſervice to his majeſty, I did not think myſelf ſeparated from the king of Navarre, becauſe I was aſſured, that that prince, whoſe intereſts were the ſame with his, would in a little time do the like. I found this anſwer did not diſpleaſe the king; but being ſurrounded, and carefully obſerved by perſons, on whoſe countenances it was eaſy to read the uneaſineſs which my diſcourſe gave them, he concealed his ſentiments. The weakneſs of this prince was indeed incomprehenſible: his real enemies could not be unknown to him, after the audacious manner in which they had ſo lately taken off the maſque; but ſtill feigning ignorance, he again delivered himſelf up to the queen-mother *,

and ſteadineſs, he would have been ſtill able to retrieve his affairs. It is certain, that the Pariſians, in great conſternation at his leaving Paris, ſent deputies to him at Chartres, to intreat him with every kind of ſubmiſſion to return to that city; and to render this deputation more affecting, they made the capuchins walk in proceſſion, and enter the cathedral with the inſtruments of the paſſion, crying Miſericordia. The king received them with that air of majeſty and authority neceſſary upon this occaſion. He ſhewed great favour to the deputies from the parliament, which had not been any ways concerned in the affair of the barricades; the others he threatened with a reſolution never again to enter Paris, and to deprive it of its charters, and ſovereign courts; at which they were ſo greatly alarmed, that the duke of Guiſe was obliged to exert all his art and credit to pacify them.

* In the circular letter that Henry III. ſent into the provinces, after the action of the barricades, and which began thus, "Dear "and well beloved, you have, as we ſuppoſe, heard the reaſons that "induced us to leave our city of Paris, the 13th of this month," &c. this prince ſpeaks more like a ſupplicant than a king; he defends his deſign of introducing a foreign garriſon in Paris, and doubts of the fidelity of the Pariſians. He gives a falſe and bad colour to his flight, and declares that he is ready to begin the war againſt the

and through her to his perſecutors, with whom ſhe reconciled him. Perhaps, however, this laſt ſtep was in this prince but a ſtroke of the moſt profound diſſimulation; for the bold † action he committed againſt the ſtates of Blois, gives us room to believe,

huguenots, at the head of the league. MS. of the royal library, number 8866, 8891.

The author means the conferences which the queen-mother held, by this prince's command, with the cardinal of Bourbon and the duke of Guiſe; to which were alſo admitted, as I find in vol. 8906, of the manuſcripts in the royal library, the lords de Lanſac, Lenoncourt, Des-Chateillers, and Miron, firſt phyſician to his majeſty, who had been employed in carrying meſſages between the two parties on the day of the barricades. Theſe conferences were held at Chalons, at Sarry, a houſe belonging to the biſhop of Chalons, at Nemours, &c. The league made moſt extravagant demands there, ſuch as the entire abolition of the pretended reformed religion, the diſmiſſion of all the calviniſt officers, even if they abjured; the publication of the council of Trent, the inquiſition, &c. and at laſt obtained all they demanded by the edict of July 21, which was given in conſequence of thoſe conferences. Memoirs of the league, vol. I. Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. Matthieu, vol. I. book viii. Chron. Noven. vol. I. and others.

† The death of the two brothers, the duke and cardinal of Guiſe, whom this prince cauſed to be murdered in his own apartments, by his guards, the 23d of December, at Blois, where he held the ſtates. See this murder in the ſame hiſtorians, with a relation of the proceedings and intrigues of both parties in the ſtates of Blois. The cardinal of Bourbon was kept priſoner, the other brothers of the duke of Guiſe fled.

The duke of Guiſe periſhed as the admiral Coligny did; preſumption hindered them both from ſeeing the danger with which they were threatened. The duke heeded none of the warnings that were given him; it is ſaid, that the marchioneſs of Noirmoûtier, the ſame lady who made ſo much noiſe under the name of madam de Sauves, came on purpoſe to paſs the night with him; and neither by arguments or intreaties, could hinder him from going the next day to the council.

Some perſons took upon them to juſtify Henry III. for this action, among others the cardinal de Joyeuſe, in a long memorial upon this ſubject, which he ſent from Rome, where he then was. Villeroy's Memoirs of State, vol. II. p. 175. But the moſt judicious of our hiſtorians, and even thoſe who have carried the privilege of the royal authority ſo far, all deteſt it. "The ſhocking circumſtances of "the murder of the Guiſes," ſays Perefixe, "appeared horrible, "even in the eyes of the huguenots, who ſaid, that it too much re-"ſembled the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew." On the other ſide, it cannot be denied, that Henry III. had no other way of preſerving the crown in his houſe, and perhaps on his own head; for there is not the

that his revenge was never one moment out of his thoughts: and if one might form any judgment of this assembly, in all appearance, every individual that composed it, had each a secret object in view, to which all their designs tended, and which success discovered in some, and disappointment concealed in others.

the least probability in what Villeroy asserts in his Memoirs, vol. I. p. 25. that the king, without taking that course, might have made himself master of the deliberations of the states of Blois, and have obliged them to comply with his will.

In this alternative one cannot help lamenting the consequences of bad conduct in a prince, which reduces him to such a sad necessity. He was himself a fatal example of this truth, that he who strikes with a knife, shall perish by a knife.

The duke of Guise was almost adored by the catholics, especially the people, who called him always, *Our great man.* He had a scar on the left cheek, below his eye, which only served to make him more respected, because he received it in fighting against the huguenots, at the battle of Château-Thierry, by a pistol-shot from a German trooper. He was, on the contrary, so hated by his own family, whom he treated with an insupportable insolence, and severity, that we are assured his relations, and even his own brothers, through fear of falling under the power of a tyrant, were the persons that sent Henry III. the most certain intelligence of his actions and designs; an intelligence which was suspected by the prince, as that given to the duke by many of the courtiers concerning the king's violent resolution against him, was by him; for they both imagined from thence that the design was to prevail upon them to quit the party, and break with the states of Blois, in which each of them would have found his account. Henry III. at first designed only to arrest the duke of Guise, but he found it would be dangerous, and still more to make him prisoner; therefore he determined to have him poignarded. Both the bodies were consumed in a fire, the bones burnt in a low hall of the castle, and the ashes thrown into the air.

The king of Navarre, who had no hand in this assassination, was the person that gained most by it. In all appearance, while the duke of Guise lived, he would never have obtained the crown. We are assured also, that there were then great designs formed between France and Spain, not only to extirpate the protestant party, but even to dethrone Elizabeth, which the event of the barricades, followed by the death of the duke of Guise, was only able to hinder the execution of. The king of Navarre lamented the fate of the duke of Guise, without blaming Henry III. "I always, said he, foresaw, and said, "that messieurs de Guise would never undertake the enterprize they "had conceived, and bring it to an issue, without endangering their "lives." Cayet, vol. I. fol. 114. Several other persons were of the same opinion. "Cursed be Lorrain," said Hubert de Vins, in the Memoirs of Castelnau, "for his stupidity in supposing, that a king,

"whole

THE death of Catherine de Medicis, which happened soon after ‡ the assassination of the duke of Guise; did not afford Henry III. more liberty to follow his inclinations, which led him to unite himself with the king of Navarre. The league was not extinct with the duke of Guise; he had the minds of the people to calm, the grandees to regain, the pope to appease, and Spain to keep in bounds, and the displeasure of all the catholics to assuage, who, after this execution, were very well disposed to question his religion.

HENRY, like all weak men, magnified these difficulties; he flattered himself he should reduce every thing to order by mildness; and therefore publicly asserted his privilege, explained his reasons for what he had done, and loudly justified his conduct. He ought to have employed arms alone against a party, which had no longer any respect for the royal authority; and instead of increasing the presumption of the populace (who in power are no less insolent, than abject in obedience) by a moderation which can only be ascribed to weakness, he ought to have declared himself boldly the assailant, and sought for vengeance like a king. Had he acted in this manner, conjunctly with the king of Navarre, he might, in all probability, have prevented the loss of Orleans, and

" whose crown he was attempting to take away by dissimulation, " would not likewise dissemble with him, to take away his life." " Since they are so near each other," said madam de Fourbin, the sister of de Vins, " we shall hear the very first day, either one or the " other has slain his companion."

The tragical events of the year 1588 have appeared to some to verify the prediction of Regiomontanus, and other astrologers, that this year would be the climacteric of the world. I find in it only a new confirmation of the folly of this ridiculous science.

‡ In the opinions of those who have bestowed so many praises upon this princess, it seemed sufficient to merit the title of a politician, that she knew how to engross the management of all affairs, and to keep herself in possession of authority; but when one reflects, that these supposed abilities, which consisted, however, in making use of unworthy means, and contemptible artifices, brought things at last to such an extremity, that neither she, nor any other, knew any

an infinite number of other * places; nor had he been at last reduced to the cities of Blois, Beaugency, Amboise, Tours, and Saumur.

I was either a witness to all these events, or was soon informed of them at Rosny, whither I had retired, as to a place, where I could easily observe whatever passed at court. I left it as soon as I thought it was necessary to give the king of Navarre an account of these transactions. He had not been a little perplexed himself during this interval, in unravelling and overthrowing the schemes of the viscount Turenne; who putting himself in the prince of Condé's place, continued all his projects for himself, and acted in the same manner by the king of Navarre, as the duke of Guise did by Henry III. In an assembly of the protestants, held at Rochelle, he boldly declared, that France, in the present conjuncture, could not possibly avoid seeing her monarchy dismembered; and he gave them to understand that, in the division which would be made of it, he would not forget himself. The king of Navarre complained of this conduct in the same assemblies; and to engage the protestants more firmly to his per-

any longer what remedies to apply to them; it may be justly asserted, that the quality of a politician did not compensate for the numberless faults she committed. It is believed, that the fatal consequences which she apprehended would attend the murder of the Guises, in which she had no part, the cardinal of Bourbon's reproaches, the horror of the present time, and perhaps the stings of her conscience, hastened her death, which happened the 5th of January, 1589. She was forgot soon afterwards. De Thou, book xciv. Her last advice to her son was, to put an end to the persecution against the protestants, and to establish an entire liberty of religion in France. Chron. Novenn. vol. I. fol. 132. Brantome's prejudices against this queen renders all he has said to her disadvantage very doubtful, vol. VII. of his Memoirs, p. 31, and following. Varillas is not more to be believed; when he says, that her death was occasioned by her grief for the murder of the duke, whom she was very fond of. Siri praises her like a foreigner, who was not well acquainted with the affairs of our court in that time; for he came to France long after the death of that queen. Memoirs of Recon di Vittorio Siri, vol. I. p. 26.

" * 'Tis a puff of wind," said Henry III. speaking of those cities, " which has thrown down a pack of cards."

ſon, he joined his actions to words, ſeized upon Garnache, and took Niort by ſtorm, after a bloody and furious battle. It was at his return from this expedition, that he fell dangerouſly ill * at la Mothe-Frêlon.

I TOOK my way through Blois, in order to form my laſt conjectures by the ſituation in which I ſhould find the court. Although I made uſe of all poſſible precautions to avoid being diſcovered by any perſon; yet the marquis of † Rambouillet ſeeing me paſs through the ſtreet, knew me, though wrapt up in my cloak, and ordered me to be watched to my lodging. The marquis was a man of ſtrict honeſty, and had always the good of the ſtate in view, without any conſiderations of ſelf-intereſt: he conceived, that it belonged to him to draw ſome advantage from this rencounter, to make one more effort upon the king's mind, and prevail upon him at length to throw himſelf into the arms of the king of Navarre. He found him in ſuch a diſpoſition as he wiſhed, and the king was the rather induced to employ me upon this occaſion, as he remembered I had already been ſent to him on that buſineſs. Rambouillet coming to me by his order, we concerted together what was neceſſary to be done; after which he preſented me to his majeſty, who confirmed to me himſelf his intentions. The many ineffectual engagements into which he had entered with the king of Navarre, made me think it neceſſary to aſk him for a credential letter to that prince; but he denied this requeſt, out of an apprehenſion that this letter might fall

* He left St. Hermine, in Lower Poitou, in the month of January, to go and aſſiſt Garnache, which was beſieged by the duke of Nevers. Du-Pleſſis-Mornay led his troops, and he himſelf marched on foot, as if he was ſhooting. He over-heated himſelf, and was ſeized with a pain in his ſide, attended with a fever, which obliged him to ſtop at the firſt houſe he came to, which belonged to a gentleman called la Mothe-Frêlon. Du-Pleſſis perſuaded him to be let blood, which cured him. Life of Du-Pleſſis-Mornay, book i. p. 125.

† Nicholas d'Angennes.

into

into the hands of the nuncio Morosini §, or the duke of Nevers, to whom, he said, notwithstanding the esteem he had for me, he should be obliged to deliver me, if I was discovered in Blois. I gave up this point, therefore; but afterwards demanded, for the security of the king of Navarre, that when he should enter a country full of his enemies, a town might be given him, that would afford him a free passage over the Loire. This, for the same reason, was not granted. I did not attribute these refusals to any bad intention of the king's, but only to the fear he was in of those two men, upon whom he had voluntarily made himself dependent. I did not, however, believe, that the king of Navarre, without this last article was yielded to, would advance with his troops as far as Blois. But this difficulty was removed by Brigneux, the governor of Beaugency, whom I visited before I went away. After telling me, that he saw, with grief, this place, like the rest, would be infallibly lost by the measures the king pursued, he offered to resign the care of it to me, or to Rebours, or any other officer the king of Navarre should approve; adding, that he chose rather to resign his post, and follow this prince as a volunteer only, than to continue in Beaugency, where his advice was not regarded.

After this assurance, I returned immediately to the king of Navarre: this prince listened to me attentively, but not being able to suppress those doubts, which his frequent disappointments from the king

§ John Francis Morosini, bishop of Bresce. Lewis de Gonzague, duke of Nevers. Sixtus V. had just then published a bull of excommunication against Henry, which this prince used his utmost endeavour to get recalled. This pope, who was said to be equally fit to govern a great kingdom as to be the head of the church, secretly approved of that justice which the king of France had executed upon the duke of Guise; but he could not pardon him for involving a cardinal in it. See in Villeroy's Memoirs of State, vol. II. p. 175. the cardinal de Joyeuse's letters already cited. Sixtus V. foretold, that the league would reduce Henry to the necessity of applying to the king of Navarre and the huguenots for assistance.

of

of France had inſpired him with, he often aſked me, with an unquiet tone of voice, and irreſolute action, if I now really thought the king of France ſincere? I proteſted to him that I believed he was; and added the engagement of Rambouillet. "Well "then, replied the king, I will not take his towns, "while he continues to treat faithfully with me;" for he had taken Châtelleraud that very day. "Return then, added he, and carry him my letters; "for I neither fear Moroſini nor Nevers." Accordingly he made me go with him that moment to breakfaſt in his cloſet; and I took poſt again for Blois.

THE king of France, who did not doubt but the king of Navarre's anſwer would be ſuch as he deſired, had, through impatience, advanced as far as Montrichard, with all his train. I found all the lodgings in this little place either taken up or beſpoke, ſo that as I arrived very late, I began to think I ſhould be obliged to paſs the night in the ſtreet: luckily Maignan found out the marquis of Rambouillet's lodgings, and he provided me with thoſe that had been deſigned for one of my brothers, who was then at Tours. At midnight I went to the king, who waited for me in a garret of the caſtle. He approved of, and ſigned every thing, even to the paſſage over the Loire; and would have had me to ſet out again that ſame night. The report of a treaty between the two kings had already reached Châtelleraud, when I arrived there; and was ſo paſſionately deſired by the people, that as ſoon as I appeared, they loaded me with a thouſand bleſſings.

THE king of Navarre was already gone from thence. This prince, who depended upon nothing but his ſword, being informed that the league had entered † Argenton, marched haſtily thither, and arrived ſo ſeaſonably, that he forced the troops of

† In the Upper Poitou.

the

the league to diſlodge, before they had received the ſupplies neceſſary to maintain them there. He left Beaupré governor in this place, after I had viſited the caſtle, and put it into a condition of defence.

THE fatigue I had ſuffered from ſo many ſucceſſive journeys, threw me, at my return, into a continued fever, which confined me to my bed twelve days. Du-Pleſſis took advantage of this accident, to deprive me of the honour of a treaty which he had only the trouble of drawing up, and in which the marquis of Rambouillet ‡ had as great a ſhare as himſelf. This treaty was ſigned at Pleſſis-les-Tours, to the great ſatisfaction of the two kings. Saumur was the place of ſecurity that was agreed upon, and § Du-Pleſſis did not fail to procure the government of it, as a fit reward for him to whom they were obliged for the ſucceſs of the treaty.

THIS proceeding appeared to me ſo extremely unjuſtifiable, that I complained loudly of Du-Pleſſis, and even of the king of Navarre himſelf, who had beſtowed the fruit of my labour upon another. The count of Soiſſons, who never had any regard to the general intereſt, or took part in the public joy, made uſe of this circumſtance to endeavour to engage me in his new deſigns; and my two brothers, on the other ſide, preſſed me earneſtly to attach myſelf wholly to the party of the king of France: but I rejected this propoſition, nor was my fidelity to my prince to be ſhaken by all the efforts that were made to ſeduce me. When I reflected alſo, that the government of Saumur would have obliged me to a conſtant reſidence there, and by conſequence have removed me always from the king of Navarre, I found, that what had appeared an act of injuſtice,

‡ It is but juſt to inform the reader, that theſe facts are related very differently in the life of Du-Pleſſis-Mornay, book i. p. 131; but to which of the writers moſt credit ought to be given is not eaſy to decide.

§ Philip Mornay, lord of Pleſſis-Marly.

was,

was, in reality, a favour, which merited my acknowledgment.

NOTHING now remained for the two kings to do, but to have a conference together, in order to concert their future enterprizes. For this purpose, the king of Navarre set out from Plessis-les-Tours. Still assaulted by some remains of distrust ‖, which he could with difficulty suppress, he stopped near a mill, about two leagues from the castle, and would know the opinion of each of the gentlemen that composed his train, upon the step he was going to take. I was amongst them, and the remembrance of the injustice, as I then thought it, which he had offered me, keeping me silent: the king of Navarre turning to me, "You say nothing, said he; what are your "thoughts of the matter?" I answered, in a few words, That it was true, the step he was taking was not without danger, because the troops of the king of France were superior to his; but that I looked upon this to be one of those circumstances, in which something ought to be left to chance; and that as for the rest, one ought to content one's self with using all the precautions which prudence could suggest. This prince pausing for a few moments, then turning towards us, "Let us go on *, said he, my "resolution is fixed."

THE king of France came into the field to meet the king of Navarre, and the joy of an union which had been so ardently desired, drew together so great

‖ "His old huguenot officers, they say, were afraid, that at a "time when treachery was so necessary to Henry III. to extricate "him out of the labyrinth into which the action he had committed "at Blois had introduced him (for he had been excommunicated "by Sixtus V.) he would not scruple to purchase his absolution at "the price of the king of Navarre's life." Perefixe, ibid. This prince had often himself said, as de Thou relates, "That he never "went to the king's closet but through the midst of two armies, "ranged on each side."

* He wrote to Du-Plessis-Mornay, in these terms: "Monsieur "Du-Plessis, the ice is broken, not without many warnings, that if "I went I should be a dead man: I passed the water, recommending "myself to God, &c."

a con-

a concourſe of people, that the two kings continued above a quarter of an hour, at the diſtance of fifty paces from each other, without being able to approach nearer: at length the croud giving way, they embraced with equal ſatisfaction on both ſides *, and took the road together to Tours, where the king of Navarre lay one night, and then returned to his quarters at Maillé. As for me, I ſtaid at Tours, being detained by a great number of my friends and relations, whom I found there, and fixed my reſidence in the ſuburb St. Symphorien.

THE duke of Maïenne, who had taken arms to revenge the death of the duke of Guiſe, and to ſupport the intereſt of the league, had no deſign to leave us long in quiet, but marched with his whole army towards this city. The king, who had walked as far as † Marmoutier, unarmed, and attended only by twenty horſe, narrowly eſcaped being taken, and was obliged to return precipitately to Tours. The ſuburbs having no other intrenchments than ſome ſlight barricades, erected in haſte, by ſix or ſeven regiments of royaliſts, who defended them, I quitted the ſuburb of St. Symphorien, and ordered all my equipage to be carried into the city. My conduct was by the officers taxed with timidity; but it was not long ere it was ſufficiently juſtified.

THE duke of Maïenne attacked the ſuburb. He was ſtopped ſome moments by means of five or ſix houſes, on the top of the hill, where our people had poſted themſelves; but they were ſoon obliged to abandon them, in order to intrench themſelves behind the barricades, where expecting ſoon to be aſſaulted, they made uſe of this interval to ſnatch a haſty refreſhment.

* At the bridge of La-Motte, a quarter of a league from Tours: "Courage, my lord, ſaid Henry IV. to Henry III. two Henry's are "worth more than one Carolus." Matthieu, vol. I. p. 152. The duke of Maïenne's name was Charles.

† An abbey near Tours.

I MET

I MET the king at the gate of the city, and making me enter, he told me, that he believed it would be in vain to endeavour to defend the ſuburbs. In effect, the barricades could not reſiſt the enemy's cannon; they were forced at the firſt onſet, and as they had no ditch to ſupport them, their retreat into the city was ſo confuſed, and ſo much expoſed to the enemy, that I am ſurprized all the ſoldiers in the ſuburbs were not either taken or ſlain, and that the enemies did not even enter the city along with them. Two pieces of cannon would have been ſufficient for that purpoſe. I ſaw the flight of our people from the convent of Jacobins, which looked over the walls of the city; and fearing that the danger would increaſe, I ran with my two brothers to the gate, to which they all preſt tumultuouſly, and by means of ſome intrenchments we ordered to be made, rendered their retreat more ſecure, and with a little time and order, they all entered; after which we cloſed up the gate, and ſet a ſtrong guard over it.

IT was no longer doubted, but that the city would be beſieged in form I joined Châtillon, and ſome others, and we went to intreat the king to confide ſome important poſt to our care; he gave us the Iſles ‡, and we laboured there without ceaſing from that moment, till the next morning, that the king came to viſit our work. He addreſſed himſelf to me and praiſed our diligence greatly, but it was uſeleſs; for at the firſt news of what had happened, the king of Navarre marched haſtily with his troops to Tours, and appeared in three hours before the city. The duke of Maïenne would not wait for him, but retreated, after plundering the ſuburbs, and the neighbouring places. A ſervice of this importance gave great hopes of what an alliance between the two

‡ Read the Iſle. This quarter, which is inhabited only by watermen, and the meaneſt people, is of great conſequence to the defence of Tours.

kings

kings might produce, and made the inhabitants of Tours look upon the king of Navarre ‖ as their deliverer.

THE two kings continued together eight or ten days, after which they separated for the expedition that had been projected on the city of Poitiers. While they carried on the works there, the king of Navarre sent me with three hundred horse, and a like number of arquebusiers, to whom he also gave horses, to defend Chartres, it having been discovered, that * Maintenon was secretly endeavouring to possess himself of this city, in the name of the league. I provided myself with rope-ladders, petards, and other instruments, and came directly to † Bonneval, without taking any refreshment that whole day. Some prisoners whom we took for a detachment of twenty-five troopers, informed us, that the enemy had a party of four hundred horse in the field, with Brosse Saveuse ‡ at their head; and that Reclainville § who led the twenty-five troopers, had taken us for a body of a hundred and twenty horse, with which Lorges had just surprized Châteaudun. We concluded from this account, that the party of four hundred horse wanted to come up with us; and we, on our side, having the same desire, left our arquebusiers to pursue the road to Chartres leisurely, and taking ours through the little hills, in order to reach the enemy's squadron, we met them on the top of a small hill, which each party had climbed up on his own side; so that we neither saw them, nor they us, till we were within two hundred paces of each other.

‖ Henry IV. highly extolled the behaviour of Henry III. who shewed great courage upon this occasion. Mem. of Nevers, vol. II. p. 589.

* Lewis d'Angennes, lord of Maintenon.

† A town upon the confines of Perche.

‡ Charles de Tiercelin, and Anne his brother; the eldest was called Saveuse, and the youngest de Brosse.

§ Lewis de Alonville, lord of Reclainville, or l'Arclainville, who commanded in Chartres for the duke of Maienne.

WE

We came to blows immediately §, and with so much fury, that by the first shock forty of our men were thrown to the ground. I was of this number together with Messr. de Châtillon ‖, de Mouy, de Montbazon, d'Avantigny, and de Pressaigny. Happily I had received no wound; my horse, who was only cut in the jaw, got up again, and I found myself still on his back. Perhaps there never was an action of this kind of combat, more furious, obstinate, or more bloody. Four or five times we returned to the charge, the enemies rallying again the moment they were put into disorder. I had two swords broke, and was obliged to have recourse to a pair of pistols loaded with steel balls against which no arms were proof. Our enemies finding they had lost two hundred of their men, left us at last in possession of the field of battle.

We were not in a condition to enjoy the fruits of our victory: extreme weariness, and the pain of our wounds kept us motionless. A little rest was all we wished for, when a heavy rain fell, which, mixing with our sweat, wet us over in an instant; for we were obliged to cover our arms with our cloaths and to complete our misfortunes, we learnt that the duke of Maïenne was at our heels. In this melancholy situation, a council being held, it was resolved notwithstanding the condition we were in, that we should march all night, and endeavour to get back to Beaugency. We arrived there, almost spent with fatigue and thirst. My strength being quite exhausted, all I could do was to sink down upon a bed, nor was it possible to awake me to take any nourishment.

The report of this battle being spread everywhere, the king of Navarre came to Beaugency to visit us, and expressed himself highly satisfied with

‖ May 18.

* Francis de Châtillon, the admiral's son, the leader of the troops Isaac Vaudré de Mouy. Lewis de Rohan, duke of Montbazon.

ur behaviour. Saveuſe being among the priſoners, vas brought before him, and the king, who, from he ſame principle of generoſity careſſed the brave, nd compaſſionated the unfortunate, endeavoured to onſole him, by praiſes on his conduct, and every ind of good treatment. But Saveuſe knowing hat a great number of his relations, and almoſt ll his friends, periſhed in the fight, his grief for heir loſs, the ſhame he felt at being vanquiſhed, nd the dangerous wounds he had received, inſpired uch an extreme deſpair, that he became delirious, nd died in the frenzy of a raging fever, without uffering his wounds to be dreſt. The king of Navarre made us ſet out for Châteaudun, where eight ay reſt entirely obliterated all remembrance of our aſt fatigues.

I WAS upon the point of leaving this place, when courier brought me news that my wife was dangerouſly ill. I flew to Roſny, with Dortoman *, irſt phyſician to the king of Navarre, whom this rince ordered to accompany me. All this canton vas in the intereſts of the league; and one of my rothers †, who had taken poſſeſſion of my houſe, he ſame wherein my wife lay ill, had the cruelty to raw up the bridge, and refuſe me entrance. Pierced o my inmoſt ſoul with a treatment ſo inhuman, I wore I would enter, or periſh in the attempt, and lready began to apply ladders to the walls, when ny brother, who did not perhaps expect ſo much eſolution, ordered the gate to be opened.

THE only conſolation I had was to find my wife till alive, and to receive her laſt embraces: all remedies were ineffectual, and ſhe died four days after ny arrival. The loſs of a wife ſo dear to me, and whoſe life had been expoſed to ſuch cruel viciſſitudes of fortune, ſhut my heart during a whole month to every other paſſion but grief. I heard with inſenſi-

† Nicholas Dortoman, a native of Arnheim.

* This is certainly the eldeſt, who was called the baron of Roſny.

bility the progreſs of the arms of the two kings, which at any other time would have inflamed me with an ardent deſire of ſharing in their dangers and glory; for it was about this time, that they took Gergeau, Pluviers, Eſtampes, Chartres §, Poiſſy, Pontoiſe, the iſle of Adam, Beaumont, and Creil. Every little inconſiderable town boaſted of having ſtopped her king, who found nothing but revolt and diſobedience over all his dominions. He was now ſenſible of the great advantage he drew from the king of Navarre's aſſiſtance. As for this prince, he was as prodigal of life as if he had been weary of it: wherever there was moſt danger, there was he to be ſeen at the head of his ſoldiers. In one of thoſe many encounters he had to maintain, at the very moment when, to reſt himſelf, he was leaning upon Charbonniere, this colonel was, by a muſket-ſhot, laid dead at his feet.

I AWAKED as from a deep ſleep at the news ‖ of the two kings holding Paris beſieged; and leaving a place where every object I ſaw renewed my affliction, I went to join the army. It was here that I ſoothed that grief which ſtill filled my heart, by expoſing myſelf careleſly in all the ſkirmiſhes we had with the enemy, then more frequent than ever, particulaly in the field, which was called the Scholars meadow. The king of Navarre perceived my deſign, and obſerving that Maignan, my equery, whom he often ordered to go to me, and force me away, durſt not do it, he deſired him only to tell me, that he wanted to ſpeak to me.

SCARCE had he uttered one word, when he was interrupted by a gentleman, who whiſpered ſomething in his ear, and left him immediately. The

§ Towns in the neighbourhood of Paris, in the iſle of France, la Beauce, and l'Orleans. See an account of this in the hiſtorians.

‖ If we may believe Matthieu, vol. II. p. 3. theſe two kings were greatly diſſatisfied with each other. Henry III. could not conceal his jealouſy of Henry IV. who, far from expecting to reign, reſolved to retire as ſoon as he had re-eſtabliſhed the king upon his throne.

king

king of Navarre, amazed at what he had heard, called me again inſtantly, and told me an aſſaſſin had dangerouſly wounded the king of France with a knife *: then mounting his horſe, and attended only by five and twenty gentlemen which were about

* By James Clement, a jacobin monk, born in Sorbonne, a village in Burgundy. He was introduced by la Gueſle, the ſolicitor-general, into the king's chamber, as having a letter of great conſequence to deliver to him. This prince, who had a great kindneſs for monks, roſe from the cloſe-ſtool upon which he was ſitting, having already read part of the letter, when the aſſaſſin ſtruck him in the belly with a knife, which he left ſticking in the wound. The king drew it out, and wounded the jacobin with it in the forehead, who was immediately killed by the gentlemen of his chamber. His body was burnt, and the aſhes thrown into the Seine. The hiſtorians have not forgot to obſerve, as a circumſtance at that time not doubted of, that Henry III. was murdered in the ſame houſe, and (if we believe them) in the ſame chamber, place, and month, where ſeventeen years before that prince had aſſiſted at the council, in which the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew was reſolved upon. Monſieur Bayle ſeems to have given credit to this anecdote, which is now proved to be falſe, the houſe at the time of the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew not being built. Henry III. died in the night between the ſecond and third of Auguſt, aged 38 years. "James Clement being at St. "Cloud, ſome perſons, who ſuſpected him, went at night into his "chamber to obſerve him. They found him in a profound ſleep, "his brevary before him, open at the article of Judith. He faſted, "confeſſed himſelf, and received the ſacrament before he ſet out to "aſſaſſinate the king. He was praiſed for this action at Rome, in "the chair where Henry the third's funeral oration ought to have "been pronounced. At Paris, his picture was placed on the altars "with the euchariſt. Cardinal de Retz relates, that on the anniver-"ſary day of the barricades, in the minority of Lewis XIV. he ſaw "a gorget upon which this monk was engraved, with theſe words "underneath, St. James Clement." Notes upon the Henriade.

"The king of Navarre," ſays Victor Gayet, Chron. Novenn. vol. I. fol. 223. "kneeled at his bedſide, ſighs and tears not permitting him to ſpeak a word. He took his majeſty's hands between his, and kiſſed them. The king, perceiving that he was "ſilent through the ſtrong emotions with which he was agitated, "embraced his head, kiſſed him, and gave him his benediction. "Had not the knife been poiſoned, the wound would not have been "mortal; for it was not deep, and had not reached the inteſtines," fol. 217. Bourgoin, prior of the jacobins, was tore to pieces by four horſes. They could extort nothing but theſe words from him, "*We have done what we could, but not what we would have done*; "which made it be believed, that Henry IV. was deſigned to have been "aſſaſſinated at the ſame time. The ſieur de Rougemont was arreſted, for having deſired to ſtrike the blow himſelf." fol. 228. He

him, took the road to St. Cloud, which was the king's quarters. At his entrance into this prince's apartment, he found he had just received an injection, which came away again without either pain or blood. The king of Navarre approached his bed, amidst all the agitation and grief that the sincerest friendship could inspire. The king comforted him with assurances, that his wound would have no bad consequences, and that God would prolong his life, that he might be in a condition to give him new proofs of his affection: The wounded monarch pronounced these words in such a manner, as removed part of the king of Navarre's apprehensions, who seeing likewise no appearance of any dangerous symptoms, left him to his repose, and returned to his quarters at Meudon.

My lodgings were at the bottom of this castle, in the house of a man named Sauvat. After I had attended the king of Navarre to his apartment, I went home to sup, and had just placed myself at table, when I saw Ferret his secretary enter, who said to me, "Sir, the king of Navarre, and perhaps the king "of France, desires you will come to him instant-"ly." Surprized at these words, I went with him immediately to the castle; and as he walked, he told me that Dortoman had informed the king of Navarre, by an express, that if he would see the king of France alive, he had not a moment to lose.

I went directly to the king of Navarre's apartment, where while our horses were saddling, he did

died like a good christian. "He forgave his enemies, and even "Clement himself," says Matthieu the historian. See, in the historians, a fuller account of his death. His character may be collected from what is said of him in these Memoirs. He was called, at his baptism, Edward Alexander, by Edward VI. king of England, and Antony king of Navarre; but Catherine made him afterwards assume the name of his father.

It is said, that seventeen or eighteen persons having gathered up the ashes of Clement, which the wind had dispersed, getting into a boat with these ashes, the boat was swallowed up by the Seine, and all that were in it,

me

me the honour to consult me upon the present conjuncture. So many different thoughts presented themselves to my mind that moment, that I continued some time silent, nor was the king in less agitation. It was not the event of a little negotiation, the success of a battle, or the possession of a small kingdom, such as Navarre, that employed his thoughts, but the greatest monarchy in Europe. But how many obstacles had he to surmount, how many labours to endure, ere he could hope to obtain it! All that he had hitherto done, was nothing in comparison to what remained to do. How crush a party so powerful, and in such high credit, that it had given fears to a prince established on the throne, and almost obliged him to descend from it! This difficulty already so great, appeared insurmountable, when he reflected, that the king's death would deprive him of the best and greatest part of his forces. He could have no dependence either on the princes of the blood, or the grandees; and in his present condition he had occasion for every one's assistance, yet had no one in whom he could confide. I was struck with fear, when he suggested to me, that it was possible such surprizing, and unexpected news might occasion a revolution, which would expose him with only a few of his most faithful servants to the mercy of his old enemies, in a country where he was absolutely destitute of every resource.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these difficulties, every one confest that the king of Navarre had but one part to take, which was to seize this opportunity, and use it with all those precautions which generally determine the event. Without attempting to judge of the future, which depends upon too many accidents, much less to subject it to our precipitation; in bold and difficult enterprizes, we should endeavour to subdue one obstacle at a time; nor suffer ourselves to be depress by their greatness, and their number. We ought never to despair of what has

been once accomplished. How many things have the idea of impossible been annexed to, that have become easy to those who knew how to take advantage of time, opportunity, lucky moments, the faults of others, different dispositions, and an infinite number of other circumstances?

THE answer I made the king was founded on these maxims; and we agreed that, instead of going back to the different provinces, he should remain in the midst of the royal army to support his claim, and set out immediately for St. Cloud, but well armed at all events, taking care, however, to keep our extraordinary arms concealed, that we might not ourselves be the first to create terror and suspicion. When we entered St. Cloud, they told us the king was better; and obliged us to put off our swords. I followed the king of Navarre, who advanced towards the castle, when suddenly we heard a man exclaim, "Ah! my God, we are lost." The king of Navarre making this man approach, who continued crying, "Alas! the king is dead," asked him several questions, which he satisfied by such a circumstantial recital of the king's death, that we could no longer doubt the truth of it.

HENRY no longer doubted, when he saw the Scots guard, who threw themselves at his feet, saying, "Ah, Sire! you are now our king and our "master." And some moments after, messr. de Biron †, de Bellegarde, d'O, de Châteauvieux, de Dampierre, and several others, did the same.

THE king of Navarre was convinced that this was one of those critical moments, upon the good or bad use of which his destiny depended. Without suffering himself to be dazzled with the view of a throne, to which he was that instant called, or oppressed by difficulties, and useless grief, he calmly

† Armand de Gontaut, marechal de Biron. Roger de St. Larry Bellegarde, grand ecuyer, of France. Francis d'O, governor of Paris, and superintendant of the finances. Joachim de Châteauvieux.

began

began to give orders for keeping every one in their duty, and preventing mutinies: then turning to me, with that familiar air which he used to those of whose affection he was assured, he bid me go to the marechal d'Aumont's ‡ quarters; and there, with all the precaution necessary to his interest, spread among his troops the news of the king's death, and to speak by this marechal to the French guards, to engage their officers to come and pay their homage to him in the afternoon, and to prevail upon the nobility to do the like. He recommended to me to observe my own quarters carefully, and keep all there in due obedience. After which he applied himself to gain all the foreign powers, on whose assistance he thought he might depend, and wrote or sent deputies to Germany, England, Flanders, Switzerland, and the republic of Venice, to inform them of this new event, and the claim which it gave him to the crown of France.

I REPRESENTED to him, that it was absolutely necessary to get possession of § Meulan immediately; a place, upon this occasion, of the utmost importance, the governor of which (who was called St. Marc) he knew to be a zealous partisan of the league in his heart. I explained to him in few words how easily this might be executed, and the king approving my scheme, I went to Meulan, and demanded a conference with St. Marc, upon affairs I said of the greatest consequence to him. He came to me, and while I amused him with a feigned confidence, the marechal d'Aumont passed over the bridge with his troops, and taking advantage of the consternation this occasioned, proceeded to the castle, which he made himself master of, and we drove out the too credulous St. Marc.

THE king offered me this government, but from many considerations I chose not to accept of it.

‡ John duke d'Aumont, marechal of France.
§ In the isle of France.

Part of his apprehenſions were ſoon juſtified by the event; he found it impoſſible to keep either the duke of Epernon *, or many other diſaffected catholics, in his ſervice, eſpecially thoſe who owed their fortune to the deceaſed king. Their diſſention reduced him almoſt to thoſe troops only, which he had brought with him, and put it out of his power to continue the ſiege of Paris, or even to hold the adjacent places. The foreign powers either gave him nothing but promiſes, or offered him ſuch ſupplies as could be of no uſe in his preſent exigencies: he was obliged therefore to retire into the heart of the kingdom. He had already (though without diſcovering his real motive for it) cauſed a report to be ſpread among his ſoldiers of an intended journey to Tours. This retreat was equally neceſſary for the ſafety of his perſon, and the ſucceſs of his affairs. A thouſand dangers threatened him in the neighbourhood of a city, where the king his predeceſſor, though a catholic,

* The author of his life aſſigns very bad reaſons for this retreat: it is plain that nothing can excuſe it. Upon this occaſion it appears, that beſides the proteſtant party, there were three others among the catholics themſelves, the firſt of whom was compoſed of thoſe perſons who abandoned Henry IV. after the death of Henry III. the ſecond, thoſe who not being able to prevail upon this prince to declare that very moment, that he would embrace the catholic religion, continued with him, but had neither affection to his perſon, nor a ſincere attachment to his intereſt. The number of theſe was very great; the chief among them were the dukes of Longueville, and Nevers, d'O, (who had ſpoken to him in the name of the reſt) and many others. The third party was made up of thoſe who declared publicly, ſays d'Aubigné, that they would ſerve the king without any conditions: and theſe were indeed but very few in number, among which were the marechals d'Aumont, and Biron, Givry, &c. Henry was extremely perplexed at the rude propoſition made him by the catholics, and the declaration they added to it, that they would retire, if he did not give them this ſatisfaction. He told them reſolutely, that he would never be reproached with having been conſtrained to take ſuch a ſtep. And demanded ſix months time to think upon it. See the hiſtorians upon this ſubject, and particularly d'Aubigné, vol. III. book ii. chap. 23. Henry IV. received ſuch important ſervices upon this occaſion from the marechal Biron, that it was reported, it was he who made him king: and the marechal is ſaid to have reproached Henry with his ſervices in thoſe very terms. Mem. of Brantome, vol. III. p. 346.

and

and with a powerful army under his obedience, could not escape a violent death. It was here that the last resolution was taken for the murder of this prince; and he had still more reason to tremble, when he reflected that those cruel designs were formed in the midst of his army, and the assassins perhaps near his person.

In this perplexing situation, it was necessary to place a governor in Meulan, who had a regiment ready to defend it against the league, which, becoming insolent by the king's death, in imagination already enjoyed the conquest of it. I having no regiment, nor sufficient time to raise one, the government of Meulan was given to Bellengreville *.

The king, in his retreat, took Clermont †, and some other small towns. His forces were too inconsiderable to admit of his engaging in greater enteprizes, which was the reason likewise that I missed of taking of ‡ Louviers, upon which I had a design that in all appearance would have succeeded. This design I communicated to the king, and desired he would give me some forces for the execution of it. He could spare me no more than a company of his light-armed horse, commanded by Arambure, which was not sufficient; but he assured me, that I should be joined at Louviers by a regiment of twelve hundred men, that was then at Nogent; and for this purpose he wrote to Couronneau the colonel of it.

With this hope I sat down before Louviers, where I waited in vain for the supplies that had been promised me. The river of Eure, which ran into the ditches of Louviers, being turned, a great aqueduct that supplied the city with water became dry. This I observed, and it was through this place that I proposed to enter it; but as it was not probable, that messieurs d'Aumale ‖, de la Londe, de Fontaine-

* Read, Joachim de Berengueville.

† In Beauvaisis. ‡ A city of Normandy.

‖ Charles de Lorraine, duke of Aumale; --- Bigars de le Londe, mayor of Rouen; Francis de Fontaine-Martel, governor of Neufchâtel;

Martel, de Medavy, de Contenant, and many other officers of the league, of which this city was full, would surrender, or suffer themselves to be taken, without striking a blow, I thought it would be rashness to attempt to force it with a handful of men: in order therefore to justify the truth of what I had asserted, I contented myself with sending several persons into the aqueduct, where I employed them only in enlarging the entrance, by forcing up with a petard the grate that closed it. By this means they several times penetrated into the city, and came out again without being perceived, which was a convincing proof that our attempt would have succeeded, if we had had a sufficient number of soldiers.

I RETURNED by Pont-de-l'Arche, to meet the kind of Navarre, at Ecouy, from whence he hoped to go immediately to Touraine; but he found the Normans so well inclined towards him, that he was determined, by their offers, to attempt the important siege of Rouen. While preparations were making for this expedition, we took Gournay, Neufchâtel, the city of Eu, Treport, and Darnetal †; where the king received advice that the duke of Maïenne was desirous of coming to a battle with him. I was ordered to go with fifty horse to reconnoitre this general's army, which I found in the neighbourhood of Mante, and spread all over my estate. I went, and posted myself in the forest; from whence I made observations, and brought the king information, that the army of the league consisted of twenty-five thousand foot and eight thousand horse. The king, who had only a little flying camp to oppose to so formidable an army, was not willing to neglect any precaution which might be necessary. He had already caused the commander of Chastes * to be

châtel; Charles Francis de Rouxel de Medavy; Timoleon de Bauves de Contenant.

† In Upper Normandy.

* Aimat de Chastes, knight of St. Lazarus, and governor of Dieppe.

founded,

founded, to know if in any caſe of neceſſity, he would receive him into Dieppe: and he had reaſon to be pleaſed with his anſwer; but, in order to be better aſſured of this governor's intentions, he went himſelf to confer with him, and returned extremely well ſatisfied. Finding therefore that he might depend upon a retreat ſo ſecure as Dieppe †, he the leſs feared to keep the field before the enemy; and reſolving to make head againſt them till the laſt extremity, he came and poſted himſelf before Arques ‡.

At the end of the cauſeway of Arques there is a long winding hill, covered with coppice: beneath is a ſpace of arable land, in the midſt of which is the great road that leads to Arques, having thick hedges on each ſide. Lower down, upon the left hand, there is a kind of great marſh or boggy ground. A village called Martingliſe ‖ bounds the hill, about half a league from the cauſeway. It was in this village, and in the neighbourhood of it, that the whole army of the duke of Maïenne was encamped. The king was ſenſible, that by attempting to reſiſt an army of above thirty thouſand men, with leſs than three thouſand, his conduct would be accuſed of raſhneſs; but beſides, that it would be very difficult to find a place more favourable for his few forces, and that there was danger in going back, he thought that the preſent weak condition his party was in, demanded ſome bold blow at the beginning. He neglected nothing that might compenſate, in ſome degree, for the ſmallneſs of his number; he ordered deep trenches to be cut at the cauſeway, and above, as well as beneath the great road: he poſted twelve hundred Swiſs on each ſide of this road, and ſix hundred German foot to defend the upper trenches; and

† Henry IV. it is ſaid, was reduced to ſuch an extremity under the walls of this city, that he was upon the point of retiring into England; which the marechal de Biron prevented, by adviſing him to make good his poſt at Arques. Before the battle of Arques, he ſaid, that he was a king without a kingdom, a huſband without a wife, and a warrior without money.

‡ In the country of Caux. ‖ Or Martin Egliſe.

placed a thouſand or twelve hundred others in a chapel, which ſtood in the midſt of the upper and lower trenches. Theſe were all the infantry he had: his cavalry, which amounted in all to but ſix hundred men, he divided into two equal ſquadrons; and with one, poſted himſelf between the wood and the road, and ſeparating the others into platoons, made them go down between the road and the moraſs, to fill in ſome ſort that ſpace. He did not ſleep that whole night; during which, fearing that the enemies would make themſelves maſters of the cauſeway, he kept guard there himſelf. In the morning they brought him ſome refreſhments into the ditch, where he invited his principal officers to breakfaſt with him; after which he thought, perhaps, to have taken a few moments reſt, when he was informed by the guards, that the army of the league was marching towards him, in order of battle.

At this news, he ordered the viſcount de Chartres, Palcheux, Braſſeuſe, Avantigno, and three or four others, to advance into the wood, and endeavour to make ſome priſoners; they ſoon returned, bringing with them the count de Belin *. The king went to meet him, and embraced him ſmiling. The count, whoſe eyes were in ſearch of the king's army, ſeeing hardly any ſoldiers about him, anſwered him no otherways than by expreſſing his ſurprize at the ſmall number that ſeemed to be with him. "You ſee not "all," ſaid the king to him with the ſame gaiety: "for you reckon not God, and my claim, who "fight for me." Accuſtomed as I was to ſee this prince, I could not help admiring the tranquility that ſat upon his countenance, on an occaſion ſo much the more deſperate, as it gave time for reflection. His air was ſo ſerene, and his ardour tempered with ſo much prudence, that he appeared to the ſoldiers as

* Francis de Faudoas d'Averton de Serillac, count of Belin, deputy governor of Paris for the duke of Maïenne.

ſome-

something more than human, and inspired them all with the intrepidity of their leader.

THE duke of Maïenne ordered the upper trenches to be attacked by a squadron of his German foot, who seemed to refuse fighting, because they had only Germans to encounter, and feigned to surrender. Our Germans were so effectually deceived by this artifice, that they suffered the others to advance and gain the trench, from whence they drove out ours; and from this advantageous post they gave us a great deal of trouble. I soon lost sight of all that was done at the side of the wood; for that part of the morass where I was, with ten of my men, was that moment attacked by a squadron of eight or nine hundred horse. At the approach of so large a body, we drew together about a hundred and fifty horse, and drove them back as far as the valley; where meeting with four other squadrons, we were obliged to retreat, till being joined in our turn hy the count d'Auvergne *, who brought a hundred and fifty horse more to our assistance, we a second time beat back the enemies squadrons. This game could not last long: three hundred horse from the enemies

* Charles de Valois, natural son of Charles IX. He is mentioned hereafter. It is upon the relation of this count, afterwards duke of Angoulême, that father Daniel, in his history of France, vol. IX. has given a description of this battle, to which nothing can be added, and differs but little from that in our Memoirs. See also father Matthieu, vol. II. p. 14. and following. Cayet, vol. I. book ii. fol. 263, and following. The Memoirs of Nevers, vol. II. p. 597. and the physician du Chesne's account, &c. This battle was fought on Wednesday September 20th: it began at ten o'clock in the morning, and ended at eleven. The duke of Maïenne, five days before, made several attempts upon Dieppe, which were called *escarmouches du Pollet*. "My companion," said Henry IV. to Arreguer, colonel of the regiment of Soleure, "I come to die, or to gain honour with "you." "He drove back the treacherous Germans," &c. Le Grain, book v. "My father," said this prince to colonel Galati, "keep a pike for me, for I will fight at the head of your battalion." Matthieu, ibid. p. 14. After the battle, he wrote to Grillon in these terms, "Hang thyself, brave Grillon, for we have fought at Arques "without thee. Adieu, brave Grillon, I love thee whether I will "or not."

army

army joining the firſt, we were forced to give ground, and regained the chapel in diſorder; where fortunately our foot ſoldiers, who were poſted there, ſtopped this cavalry ſhort, and engaged in a battle, wherein Sagonne * and ſome other officers were ſlain.

THE duke of Maïenne commanding all the reſt of his German foot to attack the chapel, we yielded at length this poſt; and overpowered by numbers, abandoned the hollows in the road, and even the road itſelf. This might be called the beginning of a defeat; we ſhould have had reaſon to fear the event, had we not happily met the battalion of Swiſs, who ſuſtained the ſhock, gave us time to rally, and put us again into a condition of renewing the fight. Nothing could have happened more ſeaſonably. My horſe that moment falling dead of his wounds, I mounted a freſh one. To vanquiſh the brave reſiſtance of our Swiſs, the enemies thought proper to order five hundred horſe to march along the ſide of the moraſs: they would have taken us in the rear, and have eaſily overwhelmed the Swiſs, and the reſt of the ſoldiers, when luckily the horſes approaching too near to the moraſs, they remained entangled in the mire, and their riders with difficulty diſengaged them, by leaving their lances ſticking there.

THE battle continued ſome time longer in this ſtate; that is to ſay, while we had any ſtrength left; but at length we began to ſink under the fatigue. On our ſide the ſame men were always in action, while our enemies were ſuſtained with freſh ſupplies, and multiplied every moment. Great part of our brigade was diſarmed and diſmounted: in this extremity, I was deputed by the troop to repreſent our ſituation to the king, and to aſk him for a reinforcement. I met this prince coming to our quarter: "My friend, ſaid he to me, I have no ſupplies to

† John Babou, count of Sagonne. Lewis de Rohan, and Joſias de la Rochefoucault, counts of Montbazon and de Rouſſy, loſt their lives alſo there.

"ſend

" send you; however, we must not suffer ourselves " to be depressed." In effect, he was in no better condition than we. He turned toward monsieur le Grand *, and bid him follow me with all the men he could get together from the upper part of the road. I went back to my party, and with a seeming joy informed them of the supply that was coming; upon which, however, I but little depended. Inspired with fresh vigour, it may be truly said, that at that moment every man gave proofs of a valour, scarcely credible. The thick fog, which concealed us from our enemies, hid from us likewise our danger; but when this fog was dissipated, the sun shewed us to them, and discovered their whole army to our view, which was pouring upon us. It was already so near, that we could not hope to gain the end of the causeway, where was our last entrenchment, and we thought of nothing but selling our lives dearly.

Our safety we owed to a circumstance that we had looked upon as our greatest misfortune. The cannon of the castle of Arques had been rendered useless by the thickness of the fog; but as soon as the enemies could be distinguished, it made a discharge so just, and was followed by so terrible an effect, altho' there were but four pieces of cannon, that the enemies were thrown into confusion. Four other vollies succeeded with such rapidity, as went quite thro' their army; which, no longer able to endure the fire, retired in disorder to the side of the valley: behind which, some moments after, all this terrible multitude was lost; astonished, without doubt, at the great loss they had sustained, and disheartened by a resistance which the duke of Maïenne had not expected.

The king, after an action which had covered him with glory, retired to Arques, from thence he went to Dieppe, harrassed continually by the enemies, and engaged in frequent skirmishes; the detail of which

* Roger de St. Sarry, of Bellegarde.

I sup-

I suppress, as having nothing very interesting after the battle of Arques. The king, however, in one of these rencounters, found himself exposed to a danger still greater: for, believing the enemies at a distance, he was exercising a kind of military game in a meadow, and sustained a discharge from two hundred fusileers, who lay in ambush upon the ground, between two hedges, not more than two hundred paces from the place where we were.

It is certain, that any other than Henry would have sunk under those difficulties, before he could have been relieved by the supplies which were preparing for him; but by his valour *, and his skill in disputing the ground, he gave time to four thousand English and Scotch, that queen Elizabeth sent him, to pass the sea; and this reinforcement was soon after followed by one more considerable, which was brought him by the count of Soissons, Henry of Orleans, duke of Longueville, d'Aumont, and Biron. It was owing to the count of Soissons that he was so often in danger at Dieppe, who amused himself with disputing about the command of the forces, instead of hastening to the king's assistance.

The duke of Maïenne durst not wait for the junction of all these troops; he disappeared with his army, and left the king master of the field. Henry then changing his resolution of keeping in Normandy, set out again for Paris, which he had quitted with regret. He passed through Meulan and Poissy †, and from thence dispatched me with the duke of

* "Sixtus V. presaged, that the Bearnois would be the uppermost, "since he was no longer in bed than the duke of Maïenne was at "table. The duke of Maïenne was extremely slow in all his mo-"tions. If he does not act in another manner, said the king, I "shall certainly beat him always in the field." Perefixe, ibid. 2. The same pope, after the battle of Arques, applied these words to Henry IV. Super aspidem & basiliscum ambulabis, & conculcabis leonem, & draconem: meaning by the asp the duke of Maïenne, the duke of Savoy by the basilisk, the king of Spain by the lion, and himself by the dragon.

† These towns are upon the Seine.

Mont-

Montpenſier ‡, to endeavour a perfect correſpondence he had a long time before begun in Vernon, or to ſeize the city by means of that terror which his approach would cauſe in it. We found no probability of ſucceeding in either of theſe deſigns; therefore, the duke of Montpenſier went back to Normandy, and I joined the king at Villepreux.

His deſign was to alarm Paris, and even to attack it; and as he ſaw opportunity, to attempt to make himſelf maſter of it. He had taken the precaution to ſend perſons to break the bridge of St. * Maixance, by which the duke of Maïenne might have been able to aſſiſt this great city; for that general, alarmed by the king's march, had alſo come near Paris by the oppoſite ſide, that he might not meet the king. Henry, therefore, gave the neceſſary orders for attacking all the ſuburbs at the ſame time: that of St. Germain fell to monſieur d'Aumont, de Châtillon, and me. As ſoon as the ſignal was given, we fell upon this ſuburb; and having, though an immenſe, yet a confuſed and terrible multitude to oppoſe, we hemmed two large bodies of ſoldiers within the encloſure of the market of St. Germain; and there, in a leſs ſpace than two hundred paces, we left four hundred of them in a moment dead upon the place. I could hardly prevail upon myſelf to kill men already more than half dead with fear; but putting them out of a condition to reſiſt us, we paſſed, and advanced as far as the gate of Neſle: fifteen or twenty of us entered the city; but perceiving that our men did not follow us, we turned back: an order from the king to give over the attack was the cauſe of their abandoning us. The perſon whom he had ſent to demoliſh the bridge † of St. Maixance had performed this com-

‡ Henry of Bourbon-Montpenſier, prince of the blood, the only ſon of Francis and Renée of Anjou, at that time ſeven and twenty years old. Henry III. took the government of Bretagne from him, without any cauſe, to beſtow it on the duke of Mercœur. He ſoon had reaſon to repent of it.

* Upon the river Oiſe.

† De Thou obſerves, that the guard of this bridge was given to William de Montmorency, lord of Thoré; but being indiſpoſed at Senlis,

miſſion ſo ill, that the duke of Maïenne appeare within ſight of Paris with his whole army, at th ſame moment that we entered it.

The king was now convinced that his enterpriz was no longer practicable, and that although w ſhould make ourſelves maſter of the city, which o our ſide would infallibly have happened, an arm thus diſperſed in a city of ſuch vaſt extent as Paris would have been in danger of being overpowered having ſuch an infinite number of people to oppoſ within, and an army without to fight againſt, whic would either enter with us, or keep us beſieged there It was thus that this prince, tempering ſo happil courage with prudence, never ſuffered his ardor i battle to hinder him from following the calmer dic tates of wiſdom. He was ſatisfied with throwin terror into the very heart of that city that dared t deſpiſe him, and giving it to know what it had to ex pect from him. Part of the ſuburbs was pillaged our ſoldiers leaving nothing in that of St. Germain † that they could conveniently carry away. I had fo my ſhare three thouſand crowns, and all my me made very conſiderable booty.

Two days after, the king went to Eſtampes ‡ and reſuming his firſt deſign of ſhewing himſelf i the heart of the kingdom, went towards Tours, an

Senlis, he could not defend it. Book xcvii. I was attacked on All-ſaints day, upon advice ſent by James Corbinelly, a Florentine gentleman, to Henry IV. in theſe three words, Come, come, come written on a bit of paper, which the bearer incloſed in a quill, an held in his mouth. They did not carry it for want of cannon t beat down the gates. Matthieu, vol. II. book i. p. 17. Cayet, vol I. p. 270.

† "The ſieurs de Châtillon, and la Nouë," ſays le Grain, book v "aſſaulted the ſuburbs of St. Germain, Buſſy and Neſſe, which "were richer and more magnificent than the others, and where they "expected to find moſt reſiſtance, as well upon account of the fine "houſes that were in the ſuburb St. Germain, which makes its va-"lue equal to the ſecond city in France, as the abbey St. Germain, "which was fortified. Châtillon made it appear that he remem-"bered St. Bartholomew's day, and was reſolved to expiate the "murder, and appeaſe the manes of the admiral his father."

‡ In Beauce.

in a short time took a great many little towns in Touraine ||, Anjou, Maine, and Lower Normandy. He left some troops with the marechal de Biron, who took Evreux, without cannon. I drove the catholics from Anfreville. The king gave me all the countries about Mante and Rosny to preserve, with a small body of troops, with which I narrowly missed seizing the duke d'Aumale, as he passed by Rosny. Afterwards I joined the marechal Biron, at the siege of Evreux. I cannot give a more circumstantial account of actions of little importance, and must even suppress the greatest part of them, as it is neither possible, nor necessary, to relate at length facts in themselves so inconsiderable.

I FOREWARN the public therefore to expect in these Memoirs a detail only of important events; such as I have been a witness to, or what regards the king himself; and if I should add any others, they will be those, the truth of which I can warrant from the authenticity of those memoirs which have fallen into my hands. As for the rest, it will be sufficient just to point them out, that the reader may from thence form an idea of the condition, and affairs of Henry the Great, in different periods of time. It was to relieve my memory, that I at first committed such particulars as most struck me, to paper; especially those conversations I had with the king, or he with others, either upon war or politics, which I apprehended might be of great use to me. This prince, who perceived it by my sometimes repeating exactly what had fallen from him on these subjects, commanded me to put my work in some order, and to enlarge it. I found some difficulty in obeying him, for my style was none of the best; and I

|| Alençon, le Mans, Château-Briant, Sablé, Château-Gontier, Maïenne, Laval, Argentan, Falaise, Lisieux, Baïeux, Ponteau de Mer, Pont l'Evêque, Honfleur, Havre-de-Grace, Donfront, &c. De Thou, book xcvii. D'Aubigné, vol. III. book iii. chap. 4, &c. See also the Memoirs of the league, and particular accounts of these expeditions printed at that time.

would

would gladly have been excuſed, but upon repeate commands from his majeſty, and his promiſe to cor rect it with his own hand, I reſumed and continue this work with more aſſiduity. Such was the riſe o theſe Memoirs. But to return to my ſubject.

THE army of the league ſitting down before Por toiſé, took it, and afterwards laid ſiege to Meulai As I looked upon this place to be of great import ance to the king, I endeavoured by all the methods could think of, to ſupply it with powder †, and to in troduce ſome perſon into it on whom I could de pend, to prevail upon the beſieged to hold out ti aſſiſtance, which was very near, arrived. And th I performed by making a man ſwim over to it; an in the mean time ſent to inform the king of wh had paſſed, and to demand the ſupplies. My re peated inſtances determined this prince to come th ther himſelf; but it was with great unwillingne that he left other places where his preſence was n leſs neceſſary. "Your importunity brings me t "the aſſiſtance of Meulan." Thus he wrote to me "If any thing unfortunate ſhould happen, I ſha "never ceaſe to reproach you." It would indee have appeared very ſurprizing to me, if no misfor tune had happened; for this prince leaving all hi infantry before Honfleur, brought with him ſo ſma a number, that it was impoſſible for him to ſuſtai the attack of a whole army which then preſt Meu lan, and would not fail to fall upon him as ſoon as i was known how ill he was attended.

THIS I took the liberty to repreſent to him and, in effect, he had no ſooner left Verneuil to pro ceed to Ivry, than going out to reconnoitre, I ſaw the whole army of the league, which was no doub informed of his march, making directly toward him, which obliged him to turn back to Verneuil

† The duke of Sully is mentioned with diſtinction, in the relatio of this ſiege, by de Thou, book xcviii. and father Matthieu, vol. II p. 22.

I

t was not usual for this prince to give ground before is enemies, nor did he now without great regret. n the first transports of his rage, he reproached me as ne cause of his suffering this affront, and with being :ss solicitous for his reputation, by calling him thi- her, than careful to preserve my lands from pillage. t was not difficult for me to justify myself; and this rince, who comprehended the importance of such a lace as Meulan, gave orders for all his army to join im.

THIS produced the effect which I had promised ıyself. The enemies seeing the army on its march, rew their cannon on this side the river, and with- ut wholly raising the siege, abandoned the care of :, to guard against surprizes.

I SENT the king advice of this proceeding, and he ıought it necessary to hasten his march, to prevent ny accident which might occasion the loss of Meu- an, and sent me the scouts of his army, that while waited for his arrival, I might be able to give the ıesiegers some trouble. He came soon after, and ntered the fort, where being desirous of observing he enemy's army *, he climbed up, with some of ıs, into the belfrey. The besiegers that moment lirecting a battery against this belfrey, demolished he staircase, and obliged the king, and all of us hat were with him, to come down with the help of ı cord, and a stick passed between our legs. The king, to pay them in the same coin, ordered four ieces of cannon to be raised in this place: which was contrary to my opinion; for I foresaw that the enemies would quickly dismount them, which real- y happened before we could derive the least advan- tage from them, and the besiegers fired there so fu- riously all day, that we were not able to remove these four pieces till night. The enemies, who took care to have the river between them and the king,

" * As Henry IV. was ascending the belfrey of St. Nicaise, a can- " non-ball passed through his legs." Matthieu, ibid. 24.

made

made a terrible attack on the bridge on that side; but this was their last effort. The king posting himself at Orgreux, they were afraid of being overcome, and suddenly decamped.

THE marquis of † Alegre had better success, and seized Rouen for the league. I received the news of it at Rosny. The king, whose whole attention it had been to hinder the reduction of this place, marched instantly to Rouen; but upon his arrival at Gaillon he learnt that the misfortune was without remedy. In revenge he went to besiege Dreux, after putting me in garrison in Passy. The duke of Maïenne, who had been just reinforced with the whole Spanish army, passed the river, and spread his troops all round Mante and Rosny, with a resolution to raise this siege. The vanguard of this army, which was conducted by one of my relations, named Rosny, had orders from the general to possess himself of Passy in his way. I gave the king notice of his approach, who replied only, that I might do as I pleased. I resolved, therefore, to defend myself; and although monsieur de Rosny wrote to me, representing to me, that it would be rashness to suffer myself to be stormed in a place that had not even walls, and offered me very advantageous conditions ‡, yet he could gain nothing upon me.

I THANKED him for his false complaisance, and, in the night, caused a ditch to be dug, which might

† Christopher d'Alegre, governor of Gisors.

‡ Father Matthieu mentions this fact exactly in the same manner as it is here; he even relates the duke of Sully's reply, in the very words he made use of. "Here is the king ready to give battle; tell "the duke of Maïenne, that he is now reckoning upon winning it; "and then I will consider whether I am to lose it."

The only difference between them is, that this officer of the enemy's who is here called Rosny, and, a relation of the baron de Rosny, was, according to Matthieu, the baron de Rosne, one of the general officers of the league: however, to those who read the Memoirs of Sully, it would seem impossible for the error to be on his side. Compare the two writers, *Oeconomies Royales*, &c. vol. I. p. 71. and Matthieu's history, vol. II. book i. p. 25.

in

in some degree serve the garrison for a shelter. Luckily the enemy had no design to waste time in so inconsiderable a siege, and wanted only to seize the place. As they passed next morning, the noise of the baggage gave me to understand, that the army had pursued its rout, which drew me out of great perplexity. During the night, which I spent entirely in fortifying Passy, I thought I saw distinctly two armies fighting in the air ‖. I know not whether this object was real, or only an illusion, but it made such an impression on my mind, that I was not surprized at reading a letter next day from the king, wherein he informed me, that the duke of Maïenne's army, joined to the Spaniards, had approached with a design to offer him battle; that he had waited for it till the evening of that day on which he wrote to me, but that the whole day had been passed in skirmishing, making lodgments, and securing advantages, and that the general action was put off till the next. His letter concluded with these words, "I conjure you then to come, and "bring with you as many of the forces as you can, "particularly your own company, and the two "companies of Badid and James's horse-arquebu-"siers; for I know them, and am resolved to make "use of them upon this occasion."

I WAS sensible that, without extraordinary dispatch, I should arrive too late for the battle with these companies, which I foresaw the king would be in great need of, as he was much inferior, in numbers to the enemy. I therefore lost not a mo-

‖ Davila, who also takes notice of this phenomenon, book xi. describes it in this manner: "The thunder and lightning, sometimes "mingled with horrid darkness, added to their terrors; and such a "flood of rain poured suddenly down, that the whole army was a-"larmed. A prodigious apparition, which appeared in the sky as "soon as it had ceased to rain, increased the general dismay; for "during the noise of the thunder, at which the boldest among them "trembled, two great armies were distinctly seen in the air, that af-"ter continuing some time engaged in fight, disappeared, covered "with a thick cloud; so that the event of the battle was not seen."

ment, and was fortunate enough to arrive an hour and a half before the battle began. The king ordered me to make my company pass to the right wing, where his own squadron was, to which he joined it; and making the two companies of arquebusiers dismount, sent their horses amongst the baggage, designing to make use of them as the forlorn hope. After this, he bid me follow him to view the disposition of the two armies, "in order, added "he, that you may learn your trade." He had no sooner placed himself at the head of his squadron§, than the trumpets sounded the charge.

I SHAL not here encroach upon the historian's right; I leave it to them to relate all the particulars of this battle, and shall confine myself only to what I was an eye-witness of. It is sufficient to say that, upon this occasion, what gave the victory to the weaker party, was the valour of the marechal d'Aumont, who prevented the entire defeat of the light horse, as also the great difference between the enemy's manner of using their artillery, and ours; and above all, the uncommon abilities of the king, which were never so perfectly known as in the day of battle, in the disposition of his troops, rallying them, their discipline, and their exact and ready obedience.

IT is certain the duke of Maïenne, and the count of Egmont, who were at the head of the Spaniards,

§ "My companions," said he, addressing himself to his squadron, "if to-day you run my fortune, I also run yours. I am resolved to "die, or conquer with you; keep your ranks, I beseech you, and if "you should quit them in the heat of the battle, rally immediately; "which will be gaining the victory: you will do it between those "three trees which you see up there on the right: and, if you should "lose sight of your standards and colours, keep my white plume of "feathers always in view; there you will find the road to victory and "glory." Perefixe ibid. 2d part. "They lost sight of him in the "battle, where, accompanied only by twelve or thirteen persons, he "was surrounded by the enemy. He killed the count of Egmont's "equery with his own hand. We must use our pistols, said he to "his troops; the more men the more glory." Matthieu, vol. II. book i. p. 26, &c.

imagined that if the king ventured to wait for them, the victory would be theirs; and that, if he yielded, or gave ground before them, as they expected, they depended upon nothing less than forcing him out of whatever place he should retreat to; and thus finish the war by a single blow. With such dispositions, what must be the consequence? I say nothing of the generals, who alone are worth many thousand men. The stronger party never makes use of those precautions that are necessary against an enemy of equal strength; and the weaker never forms a resolution to defend itself against a more numerous army, without determining likewise to supply, by valour and address, the deficiency of numbers. Danger, which inspires a courage animated by glory and difficulties, reduces both sides to a kind of equality.

THE king's squadron *, where I was, had the attacks of the count of Egmont to sustain, who fell upon us with his own squadron, and another of a

* See upon this action de Thou, book xcviii. D'Aubigné, vol. III. book iii. ch. 3. Le Grain, book v. The Memoirs of the league. Father Matthieu, idem. The Chron. Novenn. of Cayet, vol. II. fol. 327. and an account printed in 1590, and others.

De Thou and Cayet observe, that Henry the IVth's artillery had fired nine times before the duke of Maïenne's began; they also blame the duke for having disposed his army in the form of a crescent, like Henry's, when, being superior in number, he ought to have given it the form of a triangle. According to Matthieu, Henry IV. was guilty of a great fault, in not beginning the battle, by falling upon the light horse commanded by du Terrail, and upon the duke of Maïenne's body, who, having advanced too far, was obliged to go half a league about in retreating. It appears, that the cavalry only fought there; and, if we believe le Grain, twelve hundred horse defeated an army of twenty thousand men. But here is a little exaggeration. The king's army was composed of about two thousand cavalry, and six or seven thousand infantry; and the league's consisted of five thousand horse, and eight thousand foot. The count of Egmont, who had boasted that his squadron alone was sufficient to subdue the royal army, was slain in the fight. He was the son of l'Amoral d'Egmont, who was beheaded at Brussels with the count of Horne. It is said, that when he came to Paris, the person who complimented him, mixed in his discourse some praises of l'Amoral his father, "Do not mention him," he replied; "he was a rebel, and deserved "to die."

thouſand, or twelve hundred German horſe. It is true, the Germans, who profeſt the ſame religion as our ſoldiers did, fired their pieces into the air. But the count of Egmont behaved like a man who was reſolved to conquer. He charged us with ſuch fury, that notwithſtanding the deſertion of the Germans, after a terrible fire, and an encounter which laſted a full quarter of an hour, the earth was covered with dead bodies. Our ſquadron fled on the left, and on the right they were broke and gave ground. At the firſt onſet, my horſe was wounded in the noſtrils, and in the neck at a ſecond, where the ſaddle did not reach, and a third quite overpowered him, and carried away two of his feet, and a piece of fleſh off the calf of my leg. I received another wound in my hand. A piſtol-ſhot gave me a third more conſiderable; the ball entered my hip, and came out near my belly. I ſhould certainly have been killed, if my equery had not flown to my aſſiſtance with another horſe, upon which I mounted, though with great difficulty. This inſtance of affection drew a great many wounds upon poor Maignan, and had like to have coſt him his life.

At a ſecond charge, this horſe was likewiſe ſlain, and in the ſame moment I received a piſtol-ſhot in the thigh, and a cut with a ſword on the head. I fell to the earth, and with my ſenſes loſt all the remaining part of the action, which from the advantage the count of Egmont had already gained, boded no good to us. All I know is, that a long time after, recovering my ſenſes, I ſaw neither enemies, nor any of my domeſtics, near me, whom terror, and the diſorder, had diſperſed; another preſage which appeared to me no leſs unfavourable.

I retired without a head-piece, and almoſt without armour, for in the battle mine had been battered to pieces. In this condition I ſaw a trooper of the enemy's running towards me, with an intention to take away my life. By good fortune I found

found myself near a pear-tree, to which I crept, and with that little motion I was still able to exert, made such good use of the branches, which were extremely low, that I evaded all my adversary's attempts, and kept him at a distance, who being weary with turning round the tree, at last quitted me. Feuquieres had not the like good fortune; he was killed that moment before my eyes. Just then la Rocheforêt (who has since been with me) passing by, I asked him for a little nag which he was leading, and paid him for it upon the spot thirty crowns. It was always my opinion, that on such occasions, it is proper to carry a little money about one.

Thus mounted, I was going to learn news of the battle, when I saw seven of the enemy approach, one of whom carried the white standard belonging to the duke of Maïenne's company. I thought it impossible to escape this new danger, and upon their crying, "*Qui vive?*" I told my name, as being ready to surrender myself a prisoner. But how was I astonished, when instead of attacking me, I found four of these persons intreating me to receive them for prisoners, and to save their lives; and while they ranged themselves about me, appear rejoiced at this meeting! I granted their request: and it seemed so surprizing to me, that four men unhurt, and well armed, should surrender themselves to a single man, disarmed, covered with his own blood, mounted upon a little paltry nag, and scarce able to support himself, that I was tempted to take all I saw for an illusion. But I was soon convinced of the truth of it. My prisoners (since they would be so) made themselves known for monsieurs de Châtaigneraie †, de Sigogne, de Chanteloup, and d'Aufreville.

† John de Vivonne, lord of Châtaignaire. Charles de Beaufoncle, lord of Sigogne, cornet of the duke of Maïenne's company. The historians take notice of the prisoners monsieur de Rosny took in this encounter, and the wounds he received to the number of seven. It was for some time believed, that Henry IV. was slain. What gave rise to this false report was the marquis of Nesle, who was that

They told me, that the duke of Maïenne had loſt the battle; that the king was that inſtant in purſuit of the vanquiſhed, which had obliged them to ſurrender, for fear of falling into worſe hands, their horſes not being in a condition to carry them out of danger; at the ſame time Sigogne, in token of ſurrender, preſented me with the white ſtandard. The three others, who were the duke of † Nemours, the chevalier d'Aumale, and Tremont, not ſeeming inclined to ſurrender, I endeavoured to perſuade them to do ſo, but in vain. After recommending their companions to me, ſeeing a body of the victors advance, they rode away, and ſhewed me that their horſes were ſtill vigorous enough to bear them from their enemies.

I ADVANCED with my priſoners towards a battalion of Swiſs, and meeting one of the king's chief pages, I gave him the ſtandard to carry, it being too weighty a burthen for me. I then ſaw more plainly the marks of our victory. The field was full of the fugitive leaguers and Spaniards, and the victorious army ‡ of the king purſuing and ſcattering the reſt of the larger bodies, had diſperſed, and were again drawing together. The Swiſs ſoldiers of the two armies, meeting, bullied each other with their pikes

day dreſt like the king, being ſeen ſurrounded by the enemy, and wounded in ſeveral places, of which he died. Matthieu, ibid.

† Charles of Savoy duke of Nemours.

‡ "The king cried, Spare the French, and fall upon the foreign-"ers." Perefixe, ibid. part 2d. "Henry," ſays the author of the Henriade, "owed this victory to the ſuperiority of his ſkill and va-"lour. But he confeſſed that Maïenne had performed all the duties "of a great general; he had no fault," ſaid he, "but in the cauſe "he ſupported." The duke of Maïenne would have been taken, but for his precaution in breaking the bridge of Ivry as he fled. But by that means he expoſed the German horſe and foot to be ſlaughtered there, twelve hundred of which were killed upon the ſpot; a like number of French infantry, and a thouſand horſe. Some have made the loſs much greater. Of the royaliſts, five hundred private men, and about twenty gentlemen were killed. This battle was fought between Dreux and Nonancourt, at the villages of St. André and Foucrainville.

lowered, without ſtriking a blow, or making any other motion.

THE white ſtandard embroidered with black flowers-de-luce, was known by every one to be that of the Guiſes, which they bore in memory, and through horror, of the aſſaſſination of Blois, and drew great numbers to it, as to a prey equally rich and honourable. The black velvet coats of my priſoners, which were covered with ſilver croſſes, glittered from afar in the field. The firſt who flew to ſeize them, were meſſieurs de Cambrai, de l'Archant, du Rollet, de Crevecœur, de Palcheux, and de Braſſeuſe, who were joined by the count de Torigny. I advanced towards them, and ſuppoſing they would not know my face, diſfigured by blood and duſt, I named myſelf. The count de Torigny no ſooner knew la Châtaigneraie, who was his relation, than judging that, in the condition he ſaw me, I ſhould not be able to preſerve my priſoners from inſult, he intreated me to give Châtaigneraie to his care, for whom he would be anſwerable. I readily granted his requeſt, yet it was with regret that I ſaw him go away. What Torigny did through a principle of friendſhip, had a fatal conſequence for the unhappy Châtaigneraie. Some moments after he was known by three men belonging to d'O's company, who had been guard to Henry III. Theſe men levelling their pieces at him, ſhot him dead, crying, "'Sdeath! thou traitor to thy king, whom "thou haſt murdered, and triumphed in the deed."

I MIGHT have made the count of Torigny pay this priſoner's ranſom, and I was adviſed by ſeveral perſons to do ſo; but I could not reſolve to add this new cauſe of affliction to what he already felt for the death of a man, with whom I had myſelf been well acquainted.

I SOON ſaw myſelf ſurrounded by many perſons, amongſt whom there was not one that did not envy

my good fortune. D'Andelot § came after the reſt, and paſſing through the croud, perceived Sigogne, and the page who carried the ſtandard. He was preparing to ſeize it, believing his good fortune had preſerved this prize for him, when a report that the enemies had rallied, obliged him to go away abruptly. I had not time to draw him out of his error; for after he had bid the page keep that ſtandard for him, he ſuddenly diſappeared. The news was found to be falſe, and had no other foundation than the arrival of two hundred ſoldiers from Picardy, which meſſieurs de Mouy* and de la Boiſſiere had brought to the duke of Maïenne.

Being now diſengaged from the croud, and finding myſelf in need of help, eſpecially for the wound in my hip, by which I loſt a great deal of blood, I advanced with my prize to the head of ‡ Vignoles' regiment, which had behaved bravely in the battle. Here fearing no further ſurprize, I aſked for a ſurgeon to bind up my wound, and deſired ſome wine to prevent fainting, which I found coming upon me. My ſtrength being a little renewed, I got to Anet, the keeper of which gave me an apartment, where I cauſed the firſt dreſſing to be put on my wounds in the preſence of the marechal Biron, who ſpent a few moments there after my arrival, and took ſome refreſhment in my chamber. He was conducting the corps de reſerve, which he commanded, to the king, who, without ſtopping after his victory, had paſſed the river of Eure, in purſuit of the enemies; and, as I was told, took at laſt the road to Roſny, where he lay the ſame night †.

§ Charles de Coligny, marquis d'Andelot, one of the admiral de Coligny's ſons.

* Charles d'Humieres. The vol. of manuſcripts in the king's library, 8930, is filled with his great actions. Charles, marquis de Mouy, or Moy. Chriſtopher de Lanoy de Boiſſiere, governor of Corbie. ‡ Bertrand de Vignoles.

† "That night he ſupped at the caſtle of Roſny. Being informed "that the marechal d'Aumont was come to give him an account of "what

AFTER the marechal Biron was gone, d'Andelot arrived at Anet, full of reſentment againſt me for taking away his prize; for ſo he thought it. He entered my chamber, attended by five or ſix armed men, and with an air equally fierce and inſulting, demanded an explanation, or rather ſought to do himſelf juſtice; for perceiving the white ſtandard, which, with that belonging to my commpany, had been placed at the head of my bed, he would have taken poſſeſſion of it by force, without attending to what I ſaid. I changed my tone immediately, and high words paſſed between us. In the condition wherein I was, I could do no more. But he ſpeaking with fury, and making uſe of threats, the noiſe drew fifteen or twenty of my troopers into the chamber, at the ſight of whom d'Andelot reſtraining his rage, went out, commanding Sigogne to follow him, which he refuſed, and endeavoured, but in

" what he had done, he roſe up to meet him, and embracing him " affectionately, made him ſit down at his table, with theſe obliging words, that it was but juſt, that he who had ſerved him ſo " well at his nuptials, ſhould ſhare the feaſt." Perefixe ibid. 2d part.

Monſieur de Perefixe, in the ſame place, relates another circumſtance, which does honour to the king. " He remembered that, " the evening before the battle, he had uſed ſome harſh expreſſions " to colonel Theodoric Schomberg, who had aſked him for money, " and told him in a paſſion, that it was not acting like a man of " honour to demand money, when he came to take orders for fighting. " He afterwards went to him, when he was ranging his troops in " order, and ſaid, Colonel, we are now upon the point; perhaps I " ſhall never go from this place, it is not juſt that I ſhould deprive a " brave gentleman as you are of your honour; I come therefore to " declare, that I know you to be an honeſt man, and incapable of " committing a baſe action. Saying this, he embraced him with " great affection. The colonel, ſenſibly moved with this behaviour, " replied, with tears in his eyes, Ah! Sire, in reſtoring to me my " honour, you take away my life; for after this I ſhould be unworthy of your favour, if I did not ſacrifice it to-day for your ſervice. " If I had a thouſand lives, I would lay them all at your feet. In " fact, he was killed upon this occaſion." Ibid.

The marechal Biron, who at the head of the corps de reſerve, had greatly contributed towards this victory, ſaid to Henry IV. " Sire, you " have performed what Biron ſhould, and Biron has done that which " the king ought to have done."

vain, to make him comprehend the injuſtice of his pretenſions.

THE next morning I cauſed myſelf to be carried by water to Paſſy, with an intention to go to Roſny, to finiſh my cure. On my arrival, I learned that part of the ſoldiers in my train, and my valets, with all my baggage, had retired thither, not knowing what was become of me, and intimidated by a report which was ſpread, that the king had loſt the battle. Being apprehenſive of the reproaches I might make them, they kept themſelves concealed. I cauſed them to be ſought for, but they were ſo much aſhamed of their cowardice, that the following night they fled away on foot; nor have I ſince been ever able to get any intelligence of them. They left all my baggage behind them, with four of their own horſes, which I ordered to be ſold, and diſtributed the money amongſt their wounded companions.

As I was not in a condition to mount a horſe, I ordered a kind of litter, compoſed of the branches of trees, with the bark ſtill on, and the hoops of ſome veſſels, to be made for me in haſte, and travelled by Beurons, to avoid the aſcents and declivities of Rougevoie, and Châtillon.

MAIGNAN, who was a youth of a lively imagination, thought proper to give this march the air of a little triumph. Two of the grooms of my ſtable were at the head of this train, each leading one of my fineſt horſes; they were followed by my pages, one of whom rode on my horſe, the ſame who having received three wounds in the battle, and being thrown to the ground by a fourth, got up again without a ſaddle, and running about the field, was fortunately known by three of my arquebuſiers. This page carried my cuiraſs, and the duke of Maïenne's ſtandard; the other bore my bracelets, and my helmet, ſo bruiſed, that it was no longer of any uſe. My equery, the contriver of this diverting ſcene, marched next, with his head bound up, and his arm

in

in a ſcarf: he was followed by Moreines, my valet de chambre, dreſt in my coat of orange-coloured velvet, with thin plates of ſilver, and mounted upon my Engliſh nag, holding in his hand, as a trophy, a bundle of the ſhivers of my piſtols, the broken pieces of my ſwords, and the tattered remains of my plume of feathers. The litter in which I lay came next, covered only with a cloth, upon which they had hung the black velvet coats of my priſoners, with their plumes, and pieces of their piſtols and ſwords at the four corners. The priſoners themſelves followed my litter, and preceded the reſt of my domeſtics; after whom, ranged in order, came my own company of ſoldiers, and the march was cloſed with James's and Badet's two companies of arquebuſiers. They had ſuffered ſo much in the battle, that there was not one of them who had not his head bound up, and his arm in a ſcarf, and ſome of theſe brave ſoldiers were even obliged to be carried by their companions.

When we came near Beurons, we perceived all the plain covered with horſes and dogs; and the king himſelf, who, after a ſlight repaſt, had returned from Roſny to Mante, and was hunting there in my warren. This ſhew ſeemed to pleaſe him; he thought it very happily diſpoſed, and ſmiled at the vanity of Maignan, who had the honour of being known to this prince, ever ſince his father, who was a very brave man, had made himſelf remarkable at the taking of Eauſe. The king approached my litter, and in the ſight of his whole train, diſdained not to give me ſuch proofs of tenderneſs and concern, as (if I may be allowed the expreſſion) one friend would do to another. I could not expreſs my gratitude by throwing myſelf at his feet, but I aſſured him, and with truth, that I would gladly ſuffer a thouſand times more for his ſervice. He required, with an obliging ſolicitude, whether all my wounds were of ſuch a nature, that I might hope to

be cured without mutilating any part of my body, which he thought almoſt impoſſible, knowing that I had been thrown down ſenſeleſs, and trampled under the horſes feet. When he was convinced that I had nothing to fear, he caſt himſelf upon my neck, and turning to the princes and noblemen who followed him, he ſaid aloud, that he honoured me with the title of a true and honeſt knight, a title which he ſaid, he thought ſuperior to that of a knight-companion of his orders. Being apprehenſive that I ſhould hurt myſelf by ſpeaking too much, he put an end to this agreeable converſation with his uſual proteſtation, that I ſhould ſhare in whatever good fortune heaven ſhould ſend him; and, leaving me, ſaid, "Farewel, my friend, take care of yourſelf, and, "depend upon it, you have a good maſter." There are princes who are capable of gratitude, but this quality is ſeldom increaſed, or even kept, in ſucceſs.

****

BOOK IV.

THE ſame day that the king gained the battle of Ivry, his party alſo prevailed in Auvergne *, where Randan commanded the troops of the league; but fortune, as it ſhould ſeem, when ſhe gave this prince ſucceſs ſufficient to put him in poſſeſſion of ſeveral crowns, took pleaſure, at the ſame time, in producing circumſtances which hindered the effect, and left him no other fruit of his victories than the ſole glory of having conquered. After the battle of Ivry, terror and conſternation ſeized the whole party of the league, ſo that it ſeemed hardly poſſible for the king, who was now reſolved to let ſlip none of his advantages, to have failed of drawing very great

* At Iſſoire. See an account of it in Cayet, ibid. 329. De Thou, &c. John Lewis de la Rocheſoucault, count of Randan.

ones

ones from the preſent poſture of his affairs. Nor did he expect to have ſeen them raviſhed from him by a general mutiny in his army, particularly of the Swiſs, who refuſed to advance a ſtep farther, till they were paid thoſe ſums the king owed them.

THIS prince had then neither money nor means in readineſs to recover any. He came to Mante, to demand ſome of the ſuperintendant of the finances. This man, who ſecretly hated the king, and beheld his ſucceſs with grief, took pleaſure in adding to his perplexities, and had but one anſwer to make to all his ſolicitations. In this time of confuſion, when the royal treaſure became a prey to the firſt poſſeſſor, the finances were very difficult to manage, and the king's revenues ſcarce ſufficient to ſatisfy the avarice of the receivers, which generally increaſed with public miſery. Henry wanted that abſolute authority, which alone was able to check them, and ſtill more the means of convicting them of any miſdemeanor; for he had not the ſlighteſt knowledge of the affairs of the finances. Notwithſtanding this, he entered into a detail which became neceſſary for him, and obliged * d'O to deliver up certain ſums, which it was not difficult to ſee had paſſed through his hands. Theſe ſums he made uſe of to pacify his ſoldiers; but this affair took up at leaſt five days, during which the king could not leave Mante, and conſequently derive no advantage from his victory. I remember to have heard this prince declare, that he now, for the firſt time in his whole life, ſaw himſelf in a ſituation to convert his deſires into deſigns: "for I "have often had deſires, ſaid he, but never found a "fit opportunity to form deſigns." He gave the ſame ſignification to this laſt term that all wiſe men do; a ſcheme, the ſucceſs of which is ſecured by reflec-

* Francis d'O, lord d'O, de Maillebois, and de Freſne, maſter of the wardrobe to Henry III. firſt gentleman of the chamber, ſuperintendant of the finances, governor of Paris, and iſle of France. He will be mentioned hereafter.

tion and prudence: and it is in this ſenſe which every one wiſhes to take what ſeems right in his own opinion, without prejudice to any other perſon; but it is fools only who raſhly engage in deſigns, without any appearance of ſucceeding in them.

During his ſtay at Mante, d'Andelot went to him to complain of me, and this prince gave himſelf the trouble to come to Roſny, that he might hear us both. D'Andelot was there generally condemned, and the raillery his ridiculous claim drew upon him from the principal officers, made ſuch an impreſſion on his mind, that he went over to the party of the league. I did not think the ſame juſtice was done to me with regard to the government of Mante, the taking of which was almoſt the only conſequence of the battle of Ivry. The king, of whom I requeſted this poſt, beſtowed it on a catholic †, at which I made loud complaints. I confeſs, to my confuſion, that if I had ſeriouſly conſidered the ſituation the king was then in, every moment upon the point of being abandoned by the foreigners for want of payment, and thoſe catholics that were in his ſervice, ready to ſeize the ſlighteſt occaſion of diſguſt for a pretence to quit him, I ſhould not have murmured, that he granted to a catholic, who had but little affection to his perſon, what he refuſed to a faithful ſervant. There was more greatneſs of mind in being ſatisfied with the friendſhip of this prince, independent of its effects, than in receiving favours, which were determined by policy, and the neceſſity of the time.

All obſtacles being removed, the king advanced with his troops, took Dreux, and marched towards Sens, which he expected to have ſurrendered through the correſpondence he held within the city; but this failed, and Henry, unwilling to come ſo far in vain, and being beſides informed that the place was deſti-

† This government was given to monſieur de Roſny's youngeſt brother.

tute

tute of ammunition, he undertook the siege of it. It was not long before he found himself, through the malice of his secret enemies, in a general want of all things necessary to finish this enterprize, and was therefore obliged to abandon it. To efface the shame, he gave out, that he raised this siege, in order to go and invest Paris itself, and he took his rout thither by Corbeil, Meulan, Lagny, and St. Denis‡, which he seized in his way.

I WAS not at any of these sieges; and my wounds were not yet half cured, when I learnt that the king had invested Paris; and not able to resist the desire I had to be present at this expedition, I set out, with my arm however in a scarf, and supported by two crutches. The king, forgetting all my complaints, received me with his usual goodness, and commanded me to stay near his person. He communicated to me the design he had formed upon Paris, which he was resolved at the same time to carry into execution over all the suburbs; in order to deprive the city of the subsistence it drew from them, such as fruit, vegetables, &c. He divided his army into ten little bodies, to equal the number of the suburbs he designed to storm; and having made choice of the night for the execution of his scheme, he withdrew to the mountain of Montmarte, that he might send supplies wherever there was occasion for them. He placed himself in an abbey, where he was not only followed by the wounded, who could have no share in the glory of that night, but by all the aged, and the gentlemen of the robe and pen. He made me stay with him at a window, from whence he viewed the action; during which, he conversed with Du-Plessis, Rusé, de Fresne, Alibour *, and I.

‡ Cities of the isle of France.

* Du-Plessis-Mornay; Martin Rusé, lord of Beaulieu; and Peter Forget, lord of Fresne; his majesty's secretaries; Alibour his physician.

THE

THE attack began at midnight, with a frightful noiſe of the artillery, which was anſwered by that of the city. There was not one perſon, who did not think that this immenſe city would be deſtroyed, either by the fire of the artillery, or the mines kindled in its bowels: never was there a ſpectacle more capable of inſpiring horror. Thick clouds of ſmoke, through which darted by intervals ſparks of fire, or long trains of flames, covered all that ſpace of earth, which, by the viciſſitude of light and darkneſs, ſeemed now plunged in thick ſhades of night, and now ſwallowed up in a ſea of fire. The thunder of the artillery, the claſhing of arms, and the cries of the combatants, added to this object all that can be imagined terrible, which was ſtill increaſed by the natural horror of night. This ſcene continued two whole hours, and was cloſed with the reduction of all the ſuburbs, not excepting that of St. Antoine; although by its great extent we were obliged to begin the attack at a conſiderable diſtance. They blocked up the city-gates, ſo that nothing could enter without the permiſſion of thoſe who guarded them; and the people immediately ſaw themſelves reduced to an exceſs of miſery and famine, which I cannot yet think of without horror.

I MUST be permitted to paſs ſlightly over this part; I cannot, with any pleaſure, enlarge upon ſo dreadful a ſubject. The king, naturally compaſſionate, was moved with the diſtreſs of the Pariſians: he could not bear the thoughts of ſeeing this city, the empire of which was deſtined for him by Providence, become one vaſt church-yard. He ſecretly permitted every thing that could contribute to its relief, and affected not to obſerve the ſupplies of proviſions which the officers and ſoldiers ſuffered to enter the city, either out of compaſſion to their relations and friends who were in it, or with a deſign to make the citizens purchaſe them at a high price. Without doubt, he imagined this conduct would gain him the

he hearts of the Parisians; but he was deceived, hey enjoyed his benefits without ceasing to look upon him as the author of their miseries, and, elated with the prince of Parma's arrival, they insulted him, who only raised the siege because he was too much affected with the miseries of the besieged *.

* Perefixe, Cayet, and many others are also of opinion, that the cing was witheld from taking Paris by storm, and from yielding to he repeated intreaties of his soldiers, particularly the huguenots, by his having perceived, that on this occasion they were resolved to revenge he massacre of St. Bartholomew, by putting all within Paris to the word. "The duke of Nemours, says Perefixe, sent all useless mouths 'out of Paris: the king's council opposed his granting them a passage; 'but the king, being informed of the dreadful scarcity to which these 'miserable wretches were reduced, ordered that they should be allowed to pass. I am not surprized, said he, that the Spaniards, and "the chiefs of the league, have no compassion upon these poor people, they are only tyrants; as for me, I am their father and their "king, and cannot hear the recital of their calamities, without being "pierced to my inmost soul, and ardently desiring to bring them re"lief." Perefixe, part 2d. The cardinal de Gondy, bishop of Paris, having been sent, during this siege, to make Henry propositions for peace: "I will not dissemble, said he, but discover my sentiments to "you freely. I am willing to grant you peace, I desire it myself; I "would give one finger to have a battle, and two to have a general "peace: I love my city of Paris, I am jealous of her, I am desirous of "doing her service, and would grant her more favours than she de"mands of me; but I would grant them voluntarily, and not be com"pelled to it by the king of Spain or the duke of Maïenne" It may be added, that Henry IV. expected the Parisians would capitulate before the prince of Parma's arrival. The extremity to which this city was reduced, raised at once compassion and horror: in the space of a month, 30,000 persons died of hunger: mothers fed upon the flesh of their children: by the Spanish ambassador's advice, they dug up the dead bodies, and made use of their bones pounded, to compose a kind of paste. This detestable food cost the greatest part of those who eat of it their lives. See a relation of this in the historians, particularly in the second volume of Villeroy's Memoirs of state, p. 358, &c. Read also the fine verses of the Henriade upon this subject, canto the tenth. The Parisians owed their safety chiefly to the duke of Nemours; whose gallant defence has been lightly praised by our writers. The people seconded him with an obstinate eagerness, which had more of fury than true courage in it. A regiment of priests and monks were seen there, Capuchins, Folietan's, Carthusians, &c. grotesquely armed above their frocks. This awkward regiment being eager to salute the legate, killed his secretary at his side. The monks of St. Genevieve, St. Victor, the Benedictins, the Celestins, and some orders, would have no part in this military masquerade. Cayet's Chron. Novenn. ibid. 360.

To juſtify an action, in itſelf as much blamed by the maſters in the art of war, as praiſed for its motive by hearts truly benevolent, the king cauſed it to be reported, that his deſign in raiſing the ſiege of Paris was to go and meet the prince of Parma †, and by a deciſive action put an end to a war already too long. He made uſe of all the precautions neceſſary to ſecure a ſafe retreat from a city ſo populous as Paris, and commanded every one to hold themſelves in readineſs for a general ſignal; to the end that, all the ſuburbs being evacuated in a moment, no perſon might remain at the mercy of the populace. This retreat required great wiſdom and addreſs, and was happily effected on the firſt or ſecond of September in the ſame year; after which the whole army arrived at the common rendezvous, without meeting with any accident.

The king ‡ knowing that the prince of Parma was in the neighbourhood of Meaux, came and poſted himſelf between this city and Paris, and made his light horſe advance as far as Claye §; where the two camps being ſo contiguous, ſeveral ſmart encounters enſued. The king, upon the marechal Biron's repreſentations, preferred to this poſt that of ‖ Chelles, and went thither contrary to his own opinion; for he looked upon Claye to be a more advantageous poſt, and at the ſame time fitter to ſhut up the road to Paris from the enemy's general; for he had ſtill views upon the city, and carried on a correſpondence within it, which if the prince of

† Alexander Farneſe, duke of Parma and Placentia, ſon to Octavio Farneſe, and Margaret of Auſtria, natural daughter to Charles V. He married Mary of Portugal, by whom he had Ranuccio Farneſe, duke of Parma, and Edoard Farneſe, cardinal.

‡ De Thou ſays, that Henry IV. was obliged to pretend, that he only raiſed the ſiege of Paris in order to go and meet the prince of Parma, and to give him battle; for fear that his ſoldiers, whom the hopes of the plunder of Paris had only prevailed upon to ſtay with him, ſhould abandon him. Book xcix.

§ A town between Paris and Meaux. ‖ Ibid.

Parma

Parma had entered, would have failed him, and which it did notwithſtanding. The king then took poſſeſſion of a riſing-ground, which on one ſide preſented nothing to view but a deep valley and a moraſs, that took away all poſſibility of acting in that place. The prince of Parma perceiving this, encamped on a hill oppoſite to ours. It was neither his deſign nor his intereſt to hazard a battle, but to give us a check; his camp anſwered this purpoſe exactly, as he was there ſheltered from any attack, and out of the reach of the cannon. The king became ſenſible of the error, which too much complaiſance for the opinion of another had drawn him into; when, after remaining two or three days in this poſition, he ſaw * Lagny taken before his eyes, without having it in his power to prevent it †.

This event, joined to his raiſing the ſiege of Paris, mortified him extremely, becauſe he was ſenſible that it might be concluded from thence, that the enemy was ſuperior to him in judgment, which this prince conſidered as a matter of great importance in war. What gave him ſtill more uneaſineſs was, that none were more ready to believe, or even to ſpread theſe diſadvantageous reports, than the catholics of his own army. What reliance could he have on the aſſiſtance of perſons, by whom the diſobedience of

* A city of Brie upon the Marne.

† The duke of Sully is more candid than the greateſt part of the hiſtorians, who will not confeſs that Henry IV. committed any fault upon this occaſion. They cannot agree among themſelves, either about the raiſing the ſiege of Paris, or all theſe different encampments. Villeroy in his Memoirs mentions this circumſtance in the ſame manner as Sully does; and attributes to that one fault of preferring the poſt of Chelles to Claye, all the honour the prince of Parma gained by obliging the king to raiſe the ſiege of Paris, without coming to a battle; the taking of Lagny, &c. vol. I. p. 190. vol. II. p. 466. See likewiſe upon all theſe expeditions Matthieu, ibid. 53, &c. and other hiſtorians. The prince of Parma was deſirous of ſeeing Paris, and entered it incognito. " " I am informed," ſaid he to the duke of Maïenne, " that the king of Navarre makes more uſe of boots than ſhoes, and " that to ruin him we muſt protract the time, and employ delays, ra- " ther than force." Cayet's Chron. Novenn. ibid. 390.

his

his ſoldiers, and his want of money, were occaſioned? and he was convinced that this diſpoſition with regard to him was an incurable malady, which his good or his bad fortune equally increaſed. Such is the hatred that religion is the foundation of! and in the end, the king had a thouſand fatal proofs of it.

He now reſolved upon a very prudent meaſure, and indeed the only one that was left him. No longer perſiſting in his deſign of taking Paris, which ſo many circumſtances concurred to ruin, he quitted his poſt at Chelles, where he ran great hazards with an army whoſe intereſts claſhed with thoſe of its leader, and ſuddenly abandoning all thoſe quarters, retreated to the river of Oiſe, and fixed at * Creil; where, without ceaſing to harraſs the prince of Parma, he ſuffered him ſlowly to conſume of himſelf. During this time, he made no other motions than what ſerved to hinder his army from being enervated by ſloth. He laid ſiege to † Clermont, and continued it by frequent detachments. My company he poſted in the neighbourhood of Mante, to keep the country of Chartrain, and part of the iſle of France, in order. I obtained leave to continue near his perſon, though I was not in a condition to do him any very great ſervices; the wound in my hip not permitting me to ſit my horſe but with great uneaſineſs, and that in my elbow took away the uſe of one of my hands.

It happened as the king had foreſeen: the prince of Parma boaſted of his advantage in being maſter of the field; and that he might make uſe of it, laid ſiege to Corbeil. The king had provided this place, as well as all the other royaliſt towns, with whatever was neceſſary to enable them to hold out againſt a long ſiege. The enemy's general, who did not expect this, was aſtoniſhed at the firm reſiſtance of Rigaut, governor of Corbeil, whom he a long time deſpaired of ſubduing; but thinking his honour

* A town upon the Oiſe. † In Beauvaiſis.

was

was engaged in this undertaking, he continued his efforts, and succeeded at last. It was with this only exploit, however, that the campaign ended; he had bought it too dear to attempt a second at the same price; and not being able to effect any thing upon the king's army, any more than his towns, he thought the wisest thing he could do was to return to the Low Countries: which he did, to the extreme regret of the league, whom his presence had greatly relieved.

He judged, like an able general, that the king, who had (if the expression may be allowed) closed his eyes upon all the advances he had made, would open them upon his retreat; and that this would not be effected with the same ease as the rest. He was not mistaken; but he acted with so much prudence, that he prevented the last misfortune which must unavoidably have happened to any other. Notwithstanding all his precautions, the king, by an infinite number of attacks and skirmishes, sometimes beat up his quarters, and brought him within an inch of his ruin. The most considerable of these little battles, was at the passage over the river of Aîne. It was upon this occasion, that the baron de Biron * engaged himself so far among the enemies battalions, that if the king had not run thither in person, with as many of us as were about him, and made a powerful effort to bring him off, he would have lost his life there, or at least his liberty.

I was able to keep my rank with the rest during this whole march, which was an excellent school for a soldier to learn his trade in. It no less justified the conduct the king had till then observed, than it did him honour by the manner in which he executed it. Laying aside only the terms of ignominious and shameful, which the courtiers, eager to please this prince, joined (in my opinion very unjustly) to the prince of Parma's retreat, it is cer-

* Charles de Gontaut, son to the marechal,

tain,

tain, that the manner in which the king rendered an army useless, which had promised itself the conquest of all France, his bravery in attacking a powerful enemy who retreated not through weakness, and his dexterity in seizing all advantages, gave matter for admiration to persons consummate in the art of war, and equally struck the eyes of the ignorant †. The king's conduct upon this occasion, gave his partisans new courage. Several towns submitted, and some catholics came over to his side; among others, the duke of Nevers, who brought his troops along with him, either because he began to be afraid of him, or was disgusted with the league.

It was not such allies as these that I wished the king: I found he dearly bought by his compliances the assistance of a man, who might have been indeed of some use to him; but who, in my opinion, only increased the number of his secret enemies * in the council: for thus I cannot help calling all those interested catholics, who carried every thing there with a high hand, and thought they had a right to give laws to Henry.

During this prince's stay in the neighbourhood of Mante, I took Gisors, by means of a correspondence, which a gentleman in my company,

† "Henry IV. says father Matthieu, when he was in pursuit of the "prince of Parma, stole away from Attichy, and went, for the first "time, to see the beautiful Gabriella at Cœuvres. He contented "himself with eating some bread and butter at the gate, that he "might not raise any suspicion in her father. Afterwards mounting his "horse, he said, he was going towards the enemy, and that the "fair one should soon hear what he had performed through his pas-"sion for her." Vol. II. p. 59.

* By all the letters that passed between the duke of Nevers and Henry III. which are at the end of the first volume of the Memoirs that bear his name, it appears, that the duke of Nevers served this prince effectually against the league, but without any kindness to the king of Navarre. When he joined this prince, their reciprocal letters shew, that the services he did Henry IV. were considerable indeed, but that he exacted a very high price for them, and that it was with difficulty Henry bore with his caprice, his jealousy, and his bad temper.

named

named Fourges, carried on with his father, who was in the place. I did not imagine the government of this city would have been refuſed me; but it happened in this inſtance as it had done in others. Meſſieurs de Nevers, d'O, and other catholics, put in practice all thoſe mean artifices, which procured them favours, that ought only to have been the rewards of merit, and prevailed upon the king to give this poſt to one of their own religion.

I WAS too ſincere to diſſemble my thoughts of ſuch injuſtice; I choſe to explain myſelf upon this ſubject at the very time when all theſe gentlemen might hear what I ſaid, and concealed nothing that lay upon my heart. The king, who was a better politician than I was, ſeemed not to be moved with my invectives againſt the catholics, although he ſecretly agreed that I was injured, and only anſwered me coldly, "I perceive you are heated at preſent; "we will talk of this affair another time. I muſt "confeſs, added he after I retired, that he has "ſome reaſon for his complaints; his temper is "naturally fiery: however, he will never be guilty "of any thing baſe or wicked, for he is a good "man, and loves honour." In the firſt emotions of my anger, I left my company to the care of my lieutenant, and went to take a tour in the valley of Aillant, and to Combrailles, upon my wife's eſtate, taking only ſix gentlemen, and my domeſtics with me. I did not expect to be employed in any military duties in this journey; but while I was at Bontin, the count of Tonnerre * prevailed upon me, to aſſiſt him in an attempt he made upon Joigny. His deſign was to force with a petard a poſtern-gate, which for a long time before had not been opened, and through that to enter the town. Tonnerre, for this exploit, had only two hundred arquebuſiers, which he had got together in haſte. They followed him

* Francis Henry, count of Clermont and Tonnerre.

about

about two hundred ſteps into the city; but her their leader falling by a ſhot from an arquebuſe terror ſeized them, and they haſtily retreated toward the poſtern, carrying the wounded count alon with them. Their danger, or rather their fear re doubling, they had the baſeneſs to leave him upo the pavement, about thirty ſteps from the poſtern where he would have been cut to pieces by th citizens, if I had not flown to his aſſiſtance, wit only twenty men: for notwithſtanding all my endea vours, I could not prevail upon thoſe cowardl ſoldiers to face about. However, I reſcued Ton nerre, who took the road to Gien, of which he wa governor; after which I muſtered up his brave troop and reſumed my way to Bontin.

THE remembrance of the king's former good neſs to me, and an invincible inclination, drew m back to him. I found him employed in the ſiege o Chartres †; the taking of which was principall owing to the valour and addreſs of Châtillon ‡ I was prevented from being preſent at this ſiege, b an adventure the moſt dangerous I was ever engage in, in my whole life; nor have the intentions o the authors of it, or even their names, ever com to my knowledge.

† "The magiſtrate of this city made him a very long harangue "and telling him, that he acknowledged the city was ſubject to th "king, by divine and human right; the king, out of patience a "his prolixity, interrupted him, puſhing forward his horſe to enter "and ſaid, Ay, and add alſo by the cannons right." Father Cha lon's hiſtory of France, vol. III. p. 227. This ſiege was long an bloody. See Matthieu, vol. II. p. 63. Cayet, vol. II. p. 415. an other hiſtorians.

‡ Francis de Coligny, ſon to the admiral, and admiral of Guyenne He died this year 1591, in his caſtle of Louve, thirty years of age leaving by Margaret d'Ailly de Péquigny, three ſons. The calviniſ party had a gre. t loſs in him, for it is believed, that if he had lived he would even have excelled his father. De Thou, book cii. Three ſons of d'Andelot, the admiral's brother, died at one time, in the year 1586, their names were Laval, Sailly, and Rieux. They were ſons of Francis de Coligny, and Claude de Breaux, ſole heireſs of the houſe of Laval. Book lxxxv.

RETURNING

RETURNING from an aſſault which Châtillon made upon the body of the place, by means of a bridge of a new and very ingenious ſtructure, the king, who obſerved that my former ardour for his ſervice was not diminiſhed, called me, and commanded me to bring my company before Chartres. I was obliged to go and get my men together myſelf, and at the ſame time to provide every thing neceſſary for their maintenance. About three leagues from Mante, near the town of Touvery, I ſaw a brigade of twenty horſe in the field, which I ordered Tilly to reconnoitre. Upon his information that they bore white ſcarfs, I advanced without fear or precaution: as for them, continuing their rout, as if they had not even ſeen us, they ſtruck into the wood; from which, according to the courſe of the road I had taken, I could not expect to ſee them come out. I rode on with Tilly, La-Poterie, and La-Ruë, before the reſt of my troop, which conſiſted only of ſix other gentlemen, and four ſervants, who followed at ſome diſtance ſeparately. Theſe troopers, or robbers, I know not what to call them, knew the road perfectly, and had taken their meaſures ſo well, that they met us at the paſſage out of the foreſt, juſt where our road croſſed theirs. The two firſt took off their hats, when to the word, Qui vive? we anſwered, Vive le roi; but at the ſame time taking advantage of our ſecurity, fired cloſe to our breaſts. I ſaw three of the foremoſt take aim particularly at me. There was no probability that any of us would have eſcaped; but doubtleſs, precipitation, fear, and the terrors of conſcience, cauſed the hands of theſe villains to tremble, ſo that of three ſhots at me, one only reached me, which entering my lip, came out at the nape of my neck: it appeared to me, that La-Poterie and Tilly received the two others in their cloaths. La-Ruë was the only perſon who fell.

THE reſt of my troop running up at the noiſe, fur-

ſurrounded me, crying, "Vive Roſny" We all together charged our aſſailants, who retired, firing, to a village, covered with hedges, where we loſt ſight of them. They continued only to fire upon us from within the houſes, which covered my face with ſmall ſhot. By this circumſtance I concluded, that our adverſaries were of intelligence with the country; and that this village was full of ſoldiers, who only fought, perhaps, to draw us nearer. After ſeveral times calling to theſe traitors to turn and accept a defiance, I thought it was the wiſeſt way to leave them, and take ſome care of my wounds: eſpecially that in my neck, which was the moſt conſiderable, and by which I loſt a great deal of blood. I got to Touvery, where, in the houſe of monſieur * d'Auteuil, I put the firſt dreſſing upon them, and from thence retired to Mante, where I was ſix weeks under the ſurgeons hands. During this ſpace, the king's army not only ſeized Chartres, but Corbie likewiſe. Parabere had the conduct of this ſiege, in the abſence of the king, who was kept at St. Quentin ‡, by his new paſſion for mademoiſelle d'Eſtrées †.

* M. de Combault d' Auteuil.

‡ It is to this year, and while Henry IV. ſtaid at St. Quentin, that we muſt bring back this prince's letter to M. de Roſny, which is without date, and may be ſeen amongſt the MSS. of the king's library, the contents of which perfectly agree with the text of our Memoirs, and is as follows: "All the news I have from Mante "are, that you have been fatigued, and are much emaciated: if you "have any deſire to refreſh yourſelf and grow fat, it is my opinion, "that you ought to come hither; mean time your brother will ſend "us news from thence of our ſiege at Chartres, &c."

From ſeveral places in theſe Memoirs, where the ſhare Henry IV. gave to M. de Roſny in all his reſolutions is mentioned, particularly that relating to his converſion, which we ſhall come to preſently, we may infer, that this prince had always an entire confidence in him. I have tranſcribed the foregoing letter to ſhew by another teſtimony, that this opinion is not ill founded; and that the duke of Sully has not through vanity impoſed upon his readers. The hiſtorians have not mentioned this miniſter till he began to appear publicly at the head of affairs. 'Tis more than probable, that a long time before that, he had been the ſoul of all the actions and councils of Henry the Great. 'Tis

THE siege of Noyon followed that of Corbie. There is none which I could have more wished to have given a circumstantial relation of than this, if I had been a witness of it. A thousand brave actions were performed by the besieged. The duke of Maïenne, who knew this place was of great importance to the league, sent orders to the duke d'Aumale ‡, lieutenant-general, who was then at Ham with some of the forces of the party, not to neglect giving it all possible assistance till he approached. The duke d'Aumale endeavoured twice to throw succours into it; but la Chantelerie and Tremblecourt, who led them, were cut in pieces one after the other. The viscount de Tavannes ‖, major general, thinking he might be more successful, presented himself with four hundred arquebusiers: they met with a party of fifty or sixty horse, belonging to us; who, after the Qui vive, charged them boldly, and put them to flight: the principal officers, who would have resisted, were all wounded, and taken prisoners with Tavannes, their commander. D'Aumale flattered himself, that he should, in his turn, beat two quarters of light horse, which he had ordered Belanglise to reconnoitre; but he found them mounted, and going to meet the king; and having attack-

'Tis easy to trace this time back to his most early youth; though indeed all the actions of the duke of Sully compose a life, wherein no period of it seems to have been that of youth. This advantage must be allowed to minds born, as it were, grave and serious, over those more lively and full of fire.

† She is often mentioned in the course of this work. Her name was Gabrielle; she was daughter of John Antony d'Estrées, and Frances Babou de la Bourdaisiere. She bore successively the names of the fair Gabrielle, madame de Liancourt, the marchioness of Monceaux, and duchess of Beaufort.

‡ Charles de Lorrain, duke d'Aumale, son of Claude, slain before Rochelle, in the year 1573. He was the third of Claude de Lorrain's sons; from whence issued all the branches of the house of Lorrain in France: that of d'Aumale was extinct soon after.

‖ John de Saulx, viscount of Tavannes, one of the marechals of the league. See a relation of the sieges of Noyon, Pierrefont, and of all the expeditions in the above-named historians.

ed them, these light horse, notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy, defended themselves so long, and so bravely, that the baron de Biron, messieurs de la * Hargerie, and de la Boissiere, had time to come to their assistance: after which, these two troops joining, they defeated d'Aumale's whole detachment, which consisted of five hundred horse, and as many horse-arquebusiers. Very few reached Ham without wounds, and a great number of prisoners were taken.

The duke of Maïenne arriving at Ham at the very moment that these shattered remains retreated thither, was a witness of his loss, and protested publicly, that he would efface this shame, either by raising the siege of Noyon, or by a battle. He drew together all his forces, ordered the baron de Rosne † to bring him the Spanish troops under the command of the prince of Ascoli in Champagne; and finding himself at the head of nine hundred foot, and two hundred horse, he advanced towards Noyon. He forgot his oath, when he saw that he had to do with men, who seemed not to have perceived his arrival. The commander of Noyon had represented to him by a gentleman, whom the king permitted to pass through his army, that he had engaged to surrender the place in six days, if no succours were sent to him. The duke of Maïenne, the prince of Ascoli, and the duke of Aumale, suffered Noyon to be taken before their eyes. This commander certainly deserved to have been better seconded. His name was Rieux; and from a private soldier, became governor of Pierrefont, by his skill and bravery. Upon the report of Noyon's being attacked, he found means to throw himself into it, with fifty horse, and as many arquebusiers, to reassure this city, where all were in consternation and dismay, and to hold it out till the last extremity.

* Lewis d'Ognies de la Hargerie, count of Chaune.
† Christian de Savigny, baron of Rosne, in the duchy of Bar.

The

THE duke of Maïenne seeing that his army was now useless, sent it into quarters, and marched slowly towards Paris. He had long carried on a correspondence in Mante, and he now thought it time to execute his design upon that place. He privately drew out the garrisons of Paris, Dreux, and Pontoise, and suddenly presented himself within musquet-shot of this city, before day. My brother * was governor of it, and I was then there myself; my wound not permitting me to keep the field. As soon as I was informed of the enemies arrival, I ran upon the ramparts with my head bound up: and causing some discharges to be fired at the assailants, forced them to abandon their design.

THE duke of Maïenne succeded no better before Houdan †, which he alarmed as he passed by. My other brother, who was there with his regiment, and some companies, gave him such a reception, that he retreated with disgrace.

WHAT had happened at Mante, joined to the information my brother had received, convinced us, that the enemies had a correspondence in the city. After consulting together upon what was necessary to be done on this occasion, I fixed upon the following expedient: I had still in my pay six of those brave soldiers who served as a forlorn hope in the battle of Ivry, and to whom, besides their pay, I gave eight livres a month. They were then in my brother's garrison, to whom I could not refuse them, and their fidelity I was absolutely assured of. As it had been concerted with us two, they pretended to be discontented with the governor of Mante; and presenting themselves to the garrison of Pontoise, were received with open arms. They immediately proposed to d'Alincourt ‡, to make him master of

* Solomon de Bethune, called baron de Rosny, the author's youngest brother, and the third of those four brothers he mentioned at the beginning of these Memoirs.

† On the borders of France and Normandy.

‡ Charles de Neufville, marquis d'Alincourt, son to Nicolas de

Mante by the connection which they told him they ſtill had in that place. To convince the governor of this, they aſked for four ſoldiers, whom by my connivance they conveyed into Mante, and directed them to get acquainted with ſome citizens, who were well diſpoſed to engage in all ſorts of factions. In a little time every thing was agreed upon, and the day fixed for delivering up Mante to the league. Theſe four ſoldiers found ſo little difficulty in the proſecution of their deſign, that d'Alincourt, believing the ſucceſs of it infallible, would have all the honour of it to himſelf. My ſoldiers gave me exact information of all that was contriving in Pontoiſe, and the joy which ſo well concerted an enterprize occaſioned there. The general council of the league, headed by the cardinal of Bourbon * reſided in that city.

MEAN time I took my meaſures very deep, that no affectation might appear in my conduct. I cauſed trains of gunpowder to be laid upon the ramparts which they intended to ſcale, without any one's perceiving it; and ſhut up all the houſes that ſtood near that ſide; after which I introduced into the place, by ſmall diviſions at different times, the beſt ſoldiers of the garriſons of Nogent, Vernon, and

Neufville de Villeroi, ſecretary of ſtate: he will be mentioned afterwards.

* This is not the old cardinal, Charles of Bourbon, ſon of Charles of Bourbon, duke of Vendome, and brother to Antony king of Navarre, whom the league had proclaimed king. He died of the ſtone the year before, at Fontenai, in Poitou, whither Henry IV. had cauſed him to be removed from Chinon, aged ſixty-ſeven years; a prince, who had reaſon to complain, that they obliged him to aſcend a throne which had no allurements for him. He could not conceal his joy for the victory that Henry IV. gained at Coutras; and only accepted the crown, ſays Cayet, to preſerve it for that prince whom he loved. Chron. Novenn. vol. I. book ii. p. 357. The perſon mentioned here, is the cardinal his nephew, named Charles after him, ſon to Lewis the firſt, prince of Condé, ſlain at Jarnac, and brother to the prince of Condé, who died at St. John d'Angely, to the prince of Conti, and the count of Soiſſons. He is mentioned in another place.

Meulan.

Meulan. This done, I thought myſelf obliged to ſend and inform the king, who was at Compeigne, of all that paſſed; which ruined our project. This prince could not reſiſt the deſire he had to receive the duke of Maïenne himſelf in Mante, and imagined he took ſufficient precaution againſt hurting our ſcheme, by not entering Mante till the night it was to be executed, and by carrying in with him only fifty horſe, and the ſame number of foot. As for me, when I ſaw him arrive, I was ſo well perſuaded that all our meaſures were broken, that I could not help reproaching him with ſome warmth for coming thus to undo our work, and expoſing, perhaps, the lives of the four ſoldiers, who conducted it, by means of the evidence that might appear againſt them. The king aſſuring me, that nothing of what I feared would happen, went to ſup at the governor's, and there, being fatigued with his long journey, threw himſelf upon a bed with his cloaths on, and large boots.

DAY came, without any appearance of the enemies: I watched for them all night upon the ramparts with one of my brothers; the other ſtaid with the king. Juſt as I had retired to reſt, Bellengreville, whom I had ordered to obſerve the enemies motion without, came to me, and informed me, that the duke of Maïenne having received advice that ſome troops, led by the king in perſon, had entered Mante in the night, ſuppoſed his deſign was diſcovered, and retreated, after having advanced as far as Bourgenville. I carried him to the king, to whom he made the ſame report, and as a proof of the truth of what he ſaid, produced two carts, loaden with rope-ladders, and ſuch other inſtruments, which the leaguers, imagining they already ſaw the king at their heels, had left in the field, that they might not obſtruct their retreat. The affair became public and irretrievable; for the ſoldiers who eſcaped on both ſides, could not be ſilent.

THE king ſucceeded better at * Louviers. This city kept a prieſt † in its pay, who from the top of a belfrey, which he never left, played the part of a ſpy with great exactneſs. If he ſaw but a ſingle perſon in the field, he rung a certain bell, and at the ſame ſide hung out a great flag. We did not deſpair of being able to corrupt his fidelity; which two hundred crowns, and a promiſe of a benefice worth three thouſand livres a-year, effected. There remained only to gain ſome of the garriſon; the ſieur du Rollet took this upon himſelf, and ſucceeded. He addreſſed himſelf to a corporal and two ſoldiers who eaſily prevailed upon the reſt of the garriſon to truſt the guard of one of the gates to them only. Every thing being concluded upon, the king preſented himſelf before Louviers, at twelve o'clock in the night ‡. No one rung the bell, nor was there the leaſt motion in the garriſon. Du Rollet entered, and opened the gate, through which the king paſſed, without the ſmalleſt reſiſtance, into the center of the town. Fontaine-Martel made ſome ineffectual efforts to draw the garriſon together; as for the citizens, they were employed in concealing their wives and daughters. This city, whoſe chief riches conſiſted in its magazines of linen and leather, was wholly pillaged. I had a gentleman with me, called Beaugrard, a native of Louviers, who was of great uſe to us in diſcovering where theſe ſort of goods were concealed, and a prodigious quantity of them was amaſſed together. The produce of my ſhare amounted to three thouſand livres. The care of Louviers was by the king conſigned to du Rollet.

THE ſame good fortune attended the duke of Montpenſier in all his enterpriſes in Normandy §.

* In Upper Normandy.

† This prieſt was called John de la Tour. ‡ June 5.

§ In the Lower Normandy, Falaize, Baïeux, Argentan, Lizieux, &c. were in the intereſt of the league: Caën, Alençon, Séez, Ecouché, &c. in the king's. The moſt conſiderable action happened in April 1589, in the field of Argentan, near Pierrefitte, Villars, and

This success was no more than necessary to comfort the king for the news he received, that the duke of Guise *, whom he considered as his principal enemy, had escaped from the castle of Tours, where he had been confined ever since the assassination at Blois. The king now resumed his former design of attempting Rouen. Secure of the assistance and affection of almost all the cities of Normandy, he quitted Mante, where for some time past he had fixed his abode, and made it a little capital for the residence of his court and council; and caused his troops to file off towards the city. While preparations were making for this important siege, Henry took a private journey to Compeigne, of which love was the true cause, though he gave out that it was to send to Germany for a recruit of horse. The viscount Turenne undertook this affair, through gratitude for the king's having effected, and honoured with his presence, his marriage with mademoiselle de Sedan †,

and Commeaux, where the duke of Montpensier cut off the leaguers of those cantons, whom they called Gautiers, to the number of five or six thousand. They were commanded by the count of Brissac, Pierrecourt, Louchan, the baron d'Echaufour, and others. Three thousand were left dead upon the spot, and a thousand taken prisoners; the rest escaped to Argentau. Commeaux, which at present is scarce a village, was taken with great difficulty. At length the duke of Montpensier extirpated this whole party, and reduced several of the rebellious cities. He was assisted by the count of Torigny, messi. d'Emery, de Loncaunai, de Beuvron, de Viques, de Bacqueville, l'Archant, and others. See these expeditions in the third volume of the Memoirs of the league.

* Charles of Lorrain, son of Henry duke of Guise, who was slain at Blois, and of Catherine of Cleves. He was born in the year 1571. "The flight of the duke of Guise will ruin the league," said Henry IV. as it is related by le Grain. The duke's valet de chambre having found means to amuse Rouvrai, and his guards, either by play, or drinking, let him down from the highest window in the castle, in the midst of the day, with a rope which he afterwards made use of to descend himself. The duke got into a small boat, which carried him to the other side of the river, where two horses waited for him, &c. Matthieu, vol. II. p. 81. Cayet, vol. II. book iii. p. 165, &c.

† Charlotte de la Mark, daughter of Robert de la Mark, sovereign prince of Sedan, and of Frances of Bourbon-Montpensier, by the death of her brother, William Robert de la Mark, duke of Bouillon,

daughter, and sole heiress of the deceased duke o of Bouillon, which was concluded this year. No was I, for my part, sorry that this retreat gave m an opportunity of enjoying, some time longer, a Mante, the company of madam Châteaupers, witl whom chance had brought me acquainted; and th inclination I felt for her was strong enough to mak me entertain thoughts of a second marriage.

The king had expressly forbidden all commerce and exportation of merchandizes, and every kind o provision into Paris and Rouen, as being cities in open rebellion: but in this, as in every thing else, h was very ill obeyed. The governors of passes, espe cially on the side of the Seine, gained by the immens sums, which they procured them, almost publicly granted the necessary passports for merchants, and masters of boats. De Fourges, whom I have formerly mentioned, came one day and informed me, that a large boat, whose lading was reputed worth fifty thousand crowns, had gone up the river to Paris, where, after a few days stay, a less one would bring back the produce in silver to Rouen; which he was well assured of, because his father had charge of the boat. I caused it to be so well watched, that in its return it fell into my hands, and I saw with astonishment the passport signed by Berengueville, and my brother, the one governor of Meulan, and the other of Mante; but they did not care to mention this to me, nor did I take any notice of it to them, but caused the boat and its master to be brought to

which happened at Geneva, in the year 1588, she became heiress of this principality. The duke, in his last will, forbad his sister to marry a Roman catholic. This circumstance, the king's friendship for the viscount Turenne, his desire of taking the lady from the dukes of Lorrain, Montpensier, and Nevers, each of whom demanded her for his son; policy, which advised him to give an ambitious neighbour to the duke of Lorrain; and perhaps the belief that this marriage would induce the viscount to lay aside his design of making himself head of the calvinists in France: these were the motives which determined Henry IV. to marry the heiress of Sedan to the viscount Turenne.

Mante,

Mante. I opened two large packets, where I expected to find the fifty thousand crowns in specie. But seeing only some pieces of gold and silver thread, and a piece of Spanish silk, I threatened to put the master of the boat into a dungeon. The elder Fourges, alarmed at this threat, presented me with letters of exchange for six and thirty thousand crowns, which he would have persuaded me was the whole produce of the sale. But as he defended himself with much action, the weight of the gold he had about him broke his pockets, and so great a quantity fell from them, that the floor was in an instant covered with crowns of the sun *. He probably intended to apply this sum to his own use, or thought it could be in no place so secure as about himself. 'Tis impossible to express the confusion he was in at this accident. After diverting myself some time in obliging him to take several turns about the room, I ordered him to strip, and found seven thousand crowns in gold sewed up in his cloaths. I was then in some necessity for money, and waiting for the sale of my corn, wood, and hay at Rosny: the king made me a present of this sum, and was extremely pleased with the recital of poor Fourges's adventure. As for Berengueville, and my brother, they were extremely angry with me. But to return to the siege of Rouen.

The king had never seen himself at the head of such considerable forces. Four thousand English were sent him under the command of Roger Williams, and he expected soon a second reinforcement from England, which landed during the siege, commanded by the earl of Essex *, the minister and fa-

* A gold coin current in those times. It was first struck in the reign of Lewis XI. and so called, because there was the figure of a sun above the crown. The value of these crowns at this time is sixty-four sols.

* Robert d'Evreux, earl of Essex, favourite to queen Elizabeth. See the letter of thanks which Henry IV. wrote to queen Elizabeth, Villeroy's Memoirs, vol. IV. p. 249.

vourite of queen Elizabeth. The United Provinces, beſides the two regiments in the ſervice of this prince, ſent a fleet of fifty ſail well equipped, with two thouſand five hundred ſoldiers, under the command of count Philip of Naſſau, on board, to the coaſt of Normandy. The duke of Bouillon (for the viſcount Turenne took this title after his marriage) ſucceeded ſo well in his negotiation in Germany, that he brought back five or ſix thouſand horſe, and ſome companies of foot, with the prince of Anhalt at their head. Theſe foreign auxiliaries, joined to ſix thouſand Swiſs, which the king had in his pay, to different reinforcements that came from ſeveral places, particularly in Normandy; and to thoſe troops, either proteſtants or catholics, that were at his own diſpoſal, compoſed in all an army of forty thouſand men. Caën, and the other chief towns of the province, engaged to furniſh proviſions, and every thing neceſſary for a ſiege, which could not fail of being long, the goodneſs of the place, and the ſtrength of the garriſon conſidered. The marquis of Villars †, well known for his courage and capacity, ſhut himſelf up there with the ſon of the duke of Maïenne, reſolved to bury themſelves under its ruins. In effect, from the day that we ſat down before this city, till the prince of Parma's arrival, which obliged us to raiſe the ſiege, there paſſed almoſt ſix months; and what is worſe, ſix winter months: for it was inveſted the firſt of October, and abandoned the twentieth of March following, after attempts on the part of the beſiegers, and a reſiſtance on that of the beſieged, ſome circumſtances of which I ſhall relate.

THE troopers of the beſiegers were placed in different quarters; the king's were at Darnetal, and that of my company at Freſne l'Eſplen, where I ſeldom went, the king having honoured me with a

† André de Brancas-Villars, of the ancient family of Brancatio, originally Neapolitan. It is not the ſame with that of the marquis of Villars, which is deſcended from Honoré, baſtard of Savoy.

lodging

lodging in his. Here I diſpoſed myſelf for a long ſtay, and hardly ever quitted him or the marechal de Biron. At firſt there appeared ſuch an emulation among the officers to be employed, that, to avoid all diſputes, the king regulated the time and duration of each of their ſervices; and declared that every fourth day he would himſelf work at the trench, with the gentlemen that were about his perſon, who were to the number of two or three hundred.

I HAD ſolicited beforehand for a poſt in the artillery, for which my inclination was ſo ſtrong, that I ſubmitted to ſerve not only under the marechal de Biron, but meſſieurs de La-Guiche *, de Borne, and de Fayolles alſo. But Biron, who hated me, gained over theſe generals, and prevailed upon them to exclude me, with which I had afterwards reaſon to be well pleaſed; for thoſe pieces of ordnance of which I was to have the charge, happened to fall into the enemy's power.

THIS it was that gave riſe to the marechal's hatred towards me: It was debated in the council on what ſide the place ſhould be attacked. Biron was of opinion, that we ſhould begin with the caſtle; I, on the contrary, did not ſcruple to maintain, that we ought firſt to attack the city, which would bring along with it the reduction of Fort St. Catherine. This queſtion was a long time the ſubject of all converſations, as well at the table, as council; and Biron never forgot the expreſſion I generally uſed, *The city taken, the caſtle muſt ſurrender.*

I CANNOT comprehend how a man ſo experienced as the marechal was, could determine for attacking the caſtle, which, not to mention the uncommon ſkill of the commander, and the ſtrength of the garriſon, nor its excellent fortifications, had this circumſtance in particular from the nature of the place, that in attacking it without, not half the number of

* Philibert de La-Guiche, John de Durfort de Borne, Bertrand de Melet de Fayolles.

ſoldiers could be brought againſt it, which the beſieged could bring to defend it; which is quite contrary to all other cities of war.

However, the opinion of the marechal de Biron carried it; for his authority, and that dependence to which he had accuſtomed the other general officers, ſecured all the votes. Without doubt, this marechal, flattering himſelf that nothing could be able to reſiſt ſo ſtrong an army, took thoſe meaſures which he thought moſt honourable, and likelieſt to bring the ſiege ſoon to an end; and the king, who was reſolved not to ſpare * himſelf, by following this advice, ſeemed to be of the ſame opinion. For I look upon as a calumny only, raiſed by the marechal's enemies, that report which was whiſpered in the army, that he had aſked the king for the government of Rouen, which this prince had refuſed him, becauſe he had before promiſed it to du Hallot †, upon the recommendation of monſieur de Montpenſier; and that he endeavoured ſecretly to thwart this enterprize, and, through envy, gave ſuch advice as he knew would render all our efforts upon this place ineffectual. 'Tis certain, theſe continual conteſts with the duke of Bouillon had more than once like to have ruined all; for this nobleman, to be revenged on the king, raiſed a mutiny amongſt the horſe and other German forces which he had brought with him.

* Perhaps alſo they depended upon blowing up the fort of St. Catherine with the mine; but the deſign was diſcovered by the beſieged. Memoirs of the league, vol. V. Thoſe writers that have defended the marechal Biron's advice againſt that given by the duke of Sully, with regard to the place at which they ſhould begin the attack, ſay, that it was very difficult, and, at the ſame time, very dangerous, for the army of Henry IV. to leave behind them the fort of St. Catherine, the hill eſpecially being ſo near the city. See, upon the operations of this ſiege, F. Matthieu, vol. II. p. 96. and following, Cayet, Chron. Novenn. vol. II. book iv. (who is for the duke of Sully's opinion againſt the marechal Biron) and other hiſtorians.

† Francis de Montmorency du Hallot, lieutenant-general for the king in Normandy. He was wounded at the ſiege of Rouen, and afterwards ſlain by the marquis d'Alegre.

The

THE batteries were accordingly raiſed oppoſite to the fort, and we contented ourſelves with guarding the lower part of the river, and placed there ſome companies of German foot, which having been worſted in ſeveral ſallies that were made on that ſide, yielded the poſt to the Dutch, who underſtood ſieges better than they. In effect, theſe laſt maintained themſelves there, and prevented any more ſallies from that place. It was not long before the king perceived that he had engaged in a very difficult attempt; but nothing, he imagined, was impoſſible to continued labour. Villars was not contented with defending himſelf within; he ſallied out of the caſtle, and cauſed a deep trench to be cut upon the declivity of the hill, over-againſt the fort, with which the end of it communicated, and placed there in the night a guard of ſix or ſeven hundred men.

As this new work was extended far into the country, and as it not only diſordered the beſiegers in their attacks upon the caſtle, but alſo expoſed them to be fallen upon in the rear, while at the ſame time they had the garriſon from within in front, the king reſolved to ſeize it, and render it uſeleſs to the enemy. For this purpoſe he made choice of the ſame night when it was his turn to watch at the trench with his three hundred gentlemen, whom he commanded to be completely armed, and to have, beſides their uſual arms, halberts in their hands, and piſtols at their girdles, and to this troop added four hundred muſketeers. It was at midnight, and amidſt the extreme cold of December, that we attacked this trench at different places. The action, which was very obſtinate, continued half an hour with equal animoſity on both ſides. We uſed our utmoſt endeavours to gain the brink, and the beſieged repulſed us ſeveral times. I was twice thrown to the ground, my halbert broke, and my arms looſened or broke in pieces. Maignan, whom I had obtained permiſſion to keep near me, raiſed me, and put my arms

arms again in order, and gave me his halbert. The trench was at laſt carried by main force, and we cleared it of more than fifty dead or dying enemies, whom we threw from the top of the hill. This trench was open to the cannon of the fort, but the king had the precaution to order ſome gabions, hogſheads, and pieces of wood to be brought there, which covered the Engliſh, to whom he committed the guard of it.

VILLARS did not expect to have ſeen his outworks carried in ſo ſhort a time. When he was told it, and that it was the king himſelf who had conducted the enterprize, "By heavens," ſaid he, "this prince "deſerves a thouſand crowns for his valour. I am "ſorry that, by a better religion, he does not inſpire "us with as ſtrong an inclination to gain him new "ones, as to detain from him his own; but it ſhall "never be ſaid, that I have failed to attempt in my "own perſon, what a great king has performed in "his." In effect, he put himſelf at the head of four hundred men, armed as he had been told the king's were, and taking alſo eight hundred muſketeers ſelected out of his whole number, he attacked the Engliſh, and diſlodged them from the trench. The king, piqued with the vanity of Villars, and reſolving not to let go his hold, prepared for a ſecond attempt. The Engliſh, apprehending reproaches, which they certainly had not deſerved, intreated the king to put a hundred Engliſh gentlemen in his troop, and to ſuffer all the foot, who were to attend him on this occaſion, to be Engliſh likewiſe. They alſo demanded leave to ſuſtain the firſt effort of the enemy, and behaved ſo bravely, that the trench was a ſecond time regained: they afterwards maintained themſelves in it, and took away from the beſieged all inclination to approach it for the future. By this obſtinate ſtruggle for a trench only, it is eaſy to judge of the event of a ſiege, of which this attack was but the beginning. The king was ſenſible, that notwithſtanding

withſtanding all his care, and the infinite labour he underwent, he would find great difficulty in ſucceeding. It was the good deſtiny of France that preſerved this prince on occaſions, when he hazarded his perſon in ſuch a manner, as to make us tremble for his life. And it was upon this account, that the next day after the trench was taken, I took an opportunity to expreſs our common fears, when he drew me aſide, in the preſence of the catholics, and all the courtiers, to converſe with me upon the preſent ſituation of his affairs. "I cannot do otherwiſe, "my friend," replied he, as ſoon as I began to expoſtulate with him; "and ſince it is for my glory "and crown that I fight, my life and every thing "elſe ought to be of no conſideration with me."

It is certain, that in the king's ſituation he could not do leſs than he did, to perſuade the world, that if this ſiege failed, it would not be through his fault; and all thoſe inſtances of ſhining valour were no more than neceſſary to efface the ſhame of being foiled in an attempt which one half of his army feared he ſhould ſucceed in, almoſt as much as the enemies themſelves. Theſe were the very ſame catholics whom I have formerly mentioned, who not contented with having obliged him to begin the ſiege at a place which rendered the taking of the city impoſſible, ſuffered him to ſuſtain all the danger and fatigue, obeyed him but by halves and with regret, created innumerable difficulties, and publicly declared, that nothing was to be expected from them, while he continued to profeſs a religion different from their own.

It was to expreſs himſelf freely upon ſo many cauſes of uneaſineſs, that he was deſirous of diſcourſing with me, and I then ſaid nothing to him, which he did not know as well as myſelf, at ſo little trouble were his domeſtic enemies to conceal their ſentiments. He told me, he had perceived for ſome time the approach of a much greater misfortune, which was the deſertion of all the catholics in his amy,

"which

" which will bring along with it," added he, " the " ruin of the ſtate, and the houſe of Bourbon; for " if they once break with me, they will never more " chuſe a king out of that family." He added, that this diſobedience was an incurable evil, which he was obliged to diſſemble the knowledge of. He made me obſerve, that at the very time we were ſpeaking, meſſieurs de Nevers, de Longueville, de la Guiche, d'O, and de Châteauvieux, jealous of ſo familiar a converſation with an huguenot, looked at us maliciouſly from a corner of the hall, and whiſpered continually together. For this reaſon, he ſaid, it would be neceſſary to ſeparate, and that he would go and tell them our diſcourſe turned upon a negotiation with the marquis of Villars, which, in reality, the king had hinted to me in this converſation.

NOTHING could have happened more advantageous for the king, than to have put an end to the ſiege of Rouen by a treaty with Villars, which, in reality, would have drawn him from the league into his own party. It was what this prince ardently wiſhed for, but ſtill leſs for the honour of his enterprize, than the advantage that would ariſe from the gaining over ſuch a man as this governor. He imagined it might be brought about by means of la Font, for whom Villars had great conſideration, though he was only his ſteward. The king was not ignorant that Villars had received this domeſtic into his ſervice, after he had left mine; and that la Font owed his favour with his new maſter to thoſe teſtimonies I had given of his integrity. This thought had ſtruck me before it was mentioned by the king, and I had even found means to get la Font founded upon the ſubject. His anſwer, which I related to the king, was, that at preſent he ſaw no appearance of what I propoſed to him; and, far from conſenting to ſee me, as I deſired, he ſaid, he thought himſelf obliged, to prevent his maſter's entertaining any ſuſpicion of his fidelity, to have no commerce with me. All

he

he could do, therefore, was to obſerve if monſieur de Villars changed his ſentiments; and in that caſe to confirm him as much as poſſible in them, and to inform me of it.

HENRY thought no more of it; but before we ſeparated, he aſked me what he ought to do with regard to the ſiege, and the prince of Parma, who, he had juſt learned, had paſſed the Somme, to join his troops with thoſe of the duke of Maïenne. The king made no queſtion that his intention was to proceed directly to Rouen, nor that Villars would eaſily hold out till his arrival. I told the king, that in my opinion, there were but two things for him to do, and that it lay in his own breaſt to determine upon which of them he pleaſed: one of which was, to change abſolutely the order, and place of attack, and to carry it to the ſide of the city, and there uſe his utmoſt endeavours to make himſelf maſter of it before the enemy ſhould appear: the other, that without loſs of time he ſhould go and attack the prince of Parma, and oblige him to repaſs the Somme, after which he might continue the ſiege without fear.

THE king reſolved upon the laſt: but, as by following it he had no deſign to raiſe the ſiege, leſt the prince of Parma, who perhaps had that only in view, ſhould afterwards avoid the battle, he told me, that he would go and meet him with ſeven or eight thouſand horſe, who were of no uſe at the ſiege; and that he would attack them with his cavalry, or, if he had not paſſed the Somme, diſpute the paſſage with him. He quitted me, ordering me to prepare myſelf to go along with him with fifteen or twenty troopers, choſen from the reſt of my company.

I RETURNED at the end of two days from Freſne l'Eſplen; and, on my arrival at Darnetal, I learnt that Villars had made a ſally at the head of a hundred horſe, with whom he overthrew the guard; and would have been the cauſe of much greater confuſion,

fusion, if the king, armed only with a cuirass, had not ran thither, followed by the baron de Biron, an English officer (whose name I have forgot), Grillon *, and some others that were about him: these three gentlemen especially, gained immortal glory there. Grillon's arm was broke by a shot from an arquebuse. As for the king, having precipitated himself into a danger somewhat like that which is related of Alexander the Great in the city of the Oxydracæ, he extricated himself out of it with equal presence of mind, and equal intrepidity. If this, which is only an example, has all the appearance of a fable, Henry's action had two whole armies to be witnesses of it.

THE prince of Parma, with his whole army, possessed the border of the Somme, and, satisfied with recovering this river, made no other motion; for the governor of Rouen had sent to inform him, that, as he intended to strike some important blow, he might let it be a good while before he came to his assistance; and he likewise waited for the arrival of Sfondrate, who was to bring him the troops of his uncle pope Gregory XIV. †, and those of the duke of Maïenne, who however came not immediately. He had been obliged to go with his best troops to Paris, to punish the insolence of the council of Sixteen, who, abusing the power he had trusted them with, had dared to hang the president Brisson ‡, and some other counsellors as venerable for their virtue

* James Berton de Crillon, or Grillon.

† Sixtus V. died in the month of August 1590. Henry IV. when he was informed of his death, said, "Here is a trick of Spanish policy: I have lost a pope who was every thing to me."

‡ Barnaby Brisson, Claude Larcher, and John Tardiff, lord du Ru, counsellors of the parliament. "A catastrophe very unworthy of so "learned and excellent a man," says Mezeray, speaking of the president Brisson, "but usual to those who think to keep well with two "parties." For the parliament being transferred by the king to Tours, Brisson was the only one of the six presidents who remained at Paris. The league obliged him to perform the duties of first president, and it was he that helped to degrade king Henry III. According to the duke of Nevers' observation, his death was looked upon to be a just punishment of his ingratitude. Henry III. had freely bestowed upon

as their age; and who might possibly have carried their outrages farther, if the duke of Maïenne, fearing perhaps some sudden caprice of these rebels * against himself, had not doomed them to the like punishment: but as in executing this act of justice he had certain measures to keep, he did not join the prince of Parma as soon as had been expected.

The king, when he was informed of this disposition, thought it necessary to hasten his march. He left the marechal Biron the care of carrying on the siege, whose forces he weakened but by seven or eight thousand horse; consisting from three to four thousand French troopers, as many German horse, and a thousand horse-arquebusiers; at the head of which he left Darnetal, and took the road to the Somme. He passed the first day by Boissiere and Neuf-Châtel; the second by Blargy, Londiniere, Longueville, Senerpont, and Gamache; and the third advanced to Folleville, with one detachment only, leaving the body of his cavalry behind him, under the conduct of the duke of Nevers.

We met a considerable party, led by messieurs de Rosne †, de Balagny, de Vitry, the baron de la Châtre, St. Pol, La-Mothe, and others, who had doubtless advanced with the same design as we, to

upon him the post of president. However, he was one of the greatest men of the robe. The duke of Maïenne revenged his death, by causing Louchard, Ameline, Aimonet, and Anroux, four of the sixteen, to be hanged in a parlour of the Louvre. See the historians.

* One of the sixteen, named Normand, said one day in the duke of Maïenne's chamber, "Those who made him, have a right to "unmake him." Hamilton, the curate of St. Côme, a furious leaguer, came himself, attended by priests, instead of soldiers, to seize the counsellor Tardif in his house.

† Christian or Chrétien de Savigny, baron of Rosne; John de Montluc de Balagny; Lewis de l'Hôpital, lord de Vitry; Claude de La-Châtre; Antony de St. Pol; Valentine de Pardieu, lord de la Mothe, governor of Valenciennes. This last was a Frenchman, of the country of Beauvoisis; but he had all his life served in the Spanish army, and was slain in the year 1595, at the siege of Dourlans, at the head of the Spanish artillery, very much regretted by the Spaniards. The king of Spain had just created him count of Ekelbeke. See his death and panegyric in de Thou, book cxii.

discover

discover the situation and forces of the enemy. The king commanded the baron de Biron, messieurs de Lavardin, de Givry *, de St. Geran, de Marivaut de Chanlivaut, La-Curée, d'Arambure †, and some others, to go and attack them, who were repulsed and handled very roughly; and part fell, among which was Lavardin. Henry ran with three hundred horse to disengage them; and, believing this encounter might be followed by an action more considerable, at least between the cavalry of the two armies, which was what he ardently wished for, sent orders to Nevers to hasten and join him: but the prince of Parma had a contrary design, and restrained his squadrons, who had retreated of themselves when they perceived ours advance; and the king, seeing no appearance of effecting any thing in the midst of so many battalions, contented himself with observing this army closely, and checking its motions, as he went to his quarters at ‡ Breteuil; where his cavalry, for fear of a surprize, were obliged to keep themselves extremely close, and part of them even lay without all night, though the ground was covered with snow.

The ardour with which the king went to meet an enemy so greatly superior to him in numbers, awakened all our fears for the dangers to which he exposed his person, and obliged us to represent the consequences to him in very strong terms. But this prince, who had no conception of that caution we

* Anne d'Anglure, baron of Givry. This officer was equally famous for his abilities in war, and his taste of polite literature. Claude de l'Isle Marivaut; René-Viau, lord of Chanlivaut;----Filhet de La-Curée: he was one of those persons in whom the king confided, and was called by him nothing but Curée. He performed wonders at the battle of Ivry, and on many other occasions. The vol. of manuscripts marked 8929, of the royal library, is filled with relations of his intrepidity: we may have occasion to mention him hereafter. He was killed in an encounter at the siege of Montauban.

† John lord d'Arambure.

‡ This town, and some of those places abovementioned, are in Picardy: the others are in the country of Caux.

proposed

propoſed to him, when glory was in queſtion, did not alter his conduct; but ſatisfied himſelf with naming thirty of us to continue near his perſon, and not to leave him upon any occaſion whatever. An employment highly honourable indeed; but the danger of which, in ſome degree, made it leſs deſirable. With this precaution, which was no more than neceſſary, he only reſigned himſelf ſtill more to his eager thirſt of glory.

BEING informed that the duke of Guiſe, who commanded the prince of Parma's van-guard, had put himſelf at the head of his troops to facilitate the lodgment of his infantry in a large town called Bures *, he reſolved to cut off this troop; which he executed with the utmoſt bravery, at the head of twelve hundred horſe and a thouſand horſe-arquebuſiers. A great number of the enemies were left dead upon the place, and the reſt betook themſelves to flight. The duke of Guiſe's green ſtandard was taken, and all the baggage plundered. Henry, who was not willing that any of theſe troopers ſhould eſcape, eſpecially their colonel, ſent immediate orders to the duke of Nevers † to advance to Bully, that he might poſſeſs himſelf of the road through which he ſuppoſed the duke of Guiſe and the fugitives would retreat to the reſt of the army, and to take them priſoners. I was ordered to ſuſtain the duke of Nevers with ſixty horſe, which I obeyed with reluctance, not doubting but in ſuch hands the affair would have an end very unworthy of the beginning.

THE duke of Nevers, who was the ſloweſt of all men, began by ſending to make choice of the moſt favourable roads, and marched with a ſlow pace to

* In Beauvoiſis.

† Lewis de Gonzague de Mantua, duke of Nevers, by his marriage with Henrietta of Cleves, ducheſs of Nevers. Although the author always ſpeaks diſadvantageouſly of him here, the actions he performed were conſiderable enough to rank him with the braveſt ſoldiers of thoſe times. See his life and panegyric in Brantome's Lives of illuſtrious men, vol. III. p. 259, and following.

Bully,

Bully, with his hands and nose in his muff, and his whole person well wrapt up in his coach. This once he had no occasion to boast of his extreme caution. It was so long before he arrived, that he gave time to the prince of Parma, who was more diligent than he, to throw a regiment of five or six hundred men into Bully, who made such haste, that they reached the town in the beginning of the night. As for the duke of Nevers, the sun was risen the next day when he had just ascended the mountain, at the bottom of which Bully is situated, preceded by his couriers, whom he had that day doubled, through an excess of caution against a flying enemy: the first, to the number of fifty, marched two or three miles before him; and the second, which amounted to an hundred, went some few paces before his coach. But unfortunately, with all his foresight, he forgot to make sure of this passage, and had not sent a single soldier to keep guard there. He began to descend the mountain with great tranquility, and the more so, as he was ignorant of the troops that were in Bully. His first couriers, entering the city, were sufficiently surprized at the sight of so much good company; but the cold having obliged the soldiers to unarm themselves, and to lay down their pikes, to range themselves round a large fire that they had kindled, these fifty couriers had time to save themselves by flight. They did not direct their course to that side where their master was, but passed quite through the city, and went out at the opposite end, without being in the least troubled about what might happen to the duke of Nevers; whose coach at that time was sunk into the deepest part of a declivity, equally steep, rugged, and winding. It was in this place that the duke of Nevers, hearing the noise of some fusileers that were firing after his first couriers, and the second coming to make their report, full of consternation, he was frozen with terror; and resolving now to lose no time, threw away his muff and his furs, not without several

ral times exclaiming, "The devil," and quarrelling with his servants for not coming soon enough to help him out. All their endeavours could not disengage the coach, which was forced to be dragged back to the top of the mountain; where the duke again made use of it, to return with more speed to the place where he had lain the whole night. It was thus that we seconded the king upon this occasion: a truly ridiculous exploit, where the danger was far less than the fear, since not a single man was lost.

THE prince of Parma, by this important blow, knowing what sort of an enemy he had to deal with, durst not, for the future, suffer his van-guard to be separated from the army; and perceiving that the king almost never lost sight of him, redoubled his vigilance and caution, which was, without doubt, the cause that he did not take all the advantage he might have done of the encounter at Aumale: an action uncommonly bold on the king's side, and well deserving of a particular relation here.

SOME days after that I have just mentioned, the king, following the prince of Parma at a great distance, had advanced with six thousand horse as far as Aumale. Givry, whom he had sent at the head of some troopers to get intelligence, returned and informed him, that the enemy's army was advancing directly towards him in the plain, in good order, apparently with a design to force him back, and to cut him off in his retreat. The king called a council; and finding, as he said, that he had too many, and too few soldiers, he resolved to send all his cavalry back to Ophy, Blangy, and Neuf-Châtel, and to keep with him only four hundred troopers, and five hundred horse-arquebusiers, and with this troop to advance into the plain, to discover exactly the condition and number of the enemy; and, hovering about them, to take or cut off some squadrons.

HE ascended the hill of * Aumale with his nine

* In Normandy, upon the borders of Picardy.

hundred horſe, and marched two leagues without perceiving any thing, 'till the ſky, which had been extremely cloudy and dark, becoming very clear, he a ſecond time ſaw Givry return, who came to ſatisfy him in every particular relating to this army, which was ſo near that they heard diſtinctly the ſound of the trumpets and drums. The king, however, willing to obſerve it himſelf, made an exact review of it, and found that it conſiſted of ſixteen or ſeventeen thouſand infantry, with ſeven or eight thouſand cavalry, who marched very cloſe; the cavalry in the midſt of the battalions, and the whole flanked with chariots and baggage, that rendered all approach impoſſible. From this ſituation of the enemy, he found he had ſtill too many men; and retaining only an hundred troopers, ordered the eight hundred others to repaſs the dyke and town of Aumale, and three hundred horſe of his ſquadron to ſtop upon the declivity of the hill, to be ready to aſſiſt him, if there ſhould be occaſion. Five hundred arquebuſiers he gave to the conduct of Lavardin, with orders to poſt them in the ditches and hedges that were at the entrance of the town, from whence they might harraſs the enemy, if they approached too near. As for him, he not only waited for the enemy with his hundred horſe, but even marched to meet them.

We now gazed upon each other with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment at the raſhneſs of a deſign, which ſeemed to expoſe the king to inevitable death. No one durſt venture to expoſtulate with him, yet knew not how to be ſilent. At length I was choſen, and deputed by the reſt to repreſent to the king, in the name of us all, the danger to which he expoſed himſelf, and to intreat him to alter his reſolution. This commiſſion I performed with all imaginable caution. "'Tis "fear," replied the king, "that occaſions this re- "queſt: from you, of all others, I never expected "to hear ſuch a propoſition." I conjured him not to think ſo unjuſtly of any of us; and told him, that all

all we required was, that he would give us what orders he pleaſed, provided he would himſelf retire. Henry confeſſed to me afterwards, that he was ſenſibly affected with theſe words; and repenting of what he had ſaid to me, replied, that no expreſſions of our fidelity could reach the idea he conceived of it. "But," added he, coldly, and with an air that convinced me how much in vain it would be to ſpeak to him any more upon this ſubject, "be you "alſo aſſured that I am not ſo raſh as you imagine; "that I am as careful of myſelf as any other, and "that I will retreat ſo ſeaſonably that no misfor-"tune ſhall happen."

THE prince of Parma looked upon this bold attempt as a ſnare that was laid for him, to draw his cavalry into an open field where he ſhould meet with the king's, which he ſuppoſed to be concealed, and much ſuperior to his. He even ſuſpected a long time, that the king's whole army was not far off; and, having no deſign to engage him, he did not quit his poſt, which was in the center of the army, where he was ſeated in an uncovered chariot, without arms or boots, and employed in giving orders to reſtrain the ardour of the ſoldiers, who ſuffered with impatience a hundred men to inſult thirty thouſand. However, when he was aſſured, by the report of his light horſe and his carabineers, that at preſent he had but a hundred horſe in front, and that if there was any cavalry it muſt be on the other ſide of the valley, he thought he ſhould riſque nothing by attacking us; which he did with ſuch fury, and at ſo many places, that we were broke through, and driven back as far as the valley. Here it was that our arquebuſiers had poſted themſelves; and on our arrival the king cried to them to charge, after having firſt warned us not to charge, in order that the enemy might ſuſpect an ambuſcade in this place, and ſtop. In effect, they did ſtop ſhort; but finding that this cry was follow-

ed only with fifty or sixty shots that we fired upon them, they came on again more furiously.

Our arquebusiers, seized with fear, or perhaps willing to chuse a more advantageous ground, had retired much lower than the place that had been prescribed for them, and they were the principal cause of the misfortune that happened. The enemy's squadrons, encouraged by the little resistance they found, forced our ranks, and we could not hinder them from mixing amongst us. We saw ourselves reduced to the necessity of fighting with this vast multitude with our pistols and swords, in a danger that may be easily imagined: and, indeed, in my opinion, there could not be a greater; for the hundred troopers were already reduced to forty. Henry, seeing that none came to his assistance in this extremity, resolved to make his retreat; which, on this occasion, was almost as dangerous as a defence, because we had a bridge to pass, and that bridge at a great distance. This prince, with a composure truly admirable, placed himself in the rear of his troop, and made it file off towards the bridge of Aumale, which, by the order he caused to be observed, it passed over without confusion. He was the last that passed, and held firm against the enemy till every one of us was on the other side. That moment he was shot in the reins, which fortunately was the only wound he received, and which did not hinder him from continuing to fight on the other side of the bridge, while he was endeavouring to gain the hill; where the four hundred horse he had sent thither, made so good an appearance, that the prince of Parma, being more than ever persuaded, that he only sought to draw him to a battle, forbid his troops to advance, and made them all return to Aumale.

The king, on his side, reached Neuf-Châtel, where his wound obliged him to go to bed. The surgeons removed our fears and consternation by assuring us, that it was a very inconsiderable one.

He

He obliged us to come near his bed, and conversed with us familiarly upon the dangers of that day: upon which I observed, as something very extraordinary, that amongst us all, who were in the chamber, there were not two who agreed * in the recital of the most particular circumstances of the action. In general, it passed as I have related: what appeared doubtful to me, I have suppressed; but as it is here, there are perhaps few kings whose lives † will afford so shining an instance of valour and good conduct.

THE prince of Parma's extreme prudence failed him upon this occasion: it hindered him from cutting off our whole squadron, and finishing the war that day by the death or taking of the king: for the one or other was inevitable. But he was determined to undertake nothing till he was joined by the duke of Maïenne, not being willing to bear alone all the inconveniences of a war, of which he was not to have the sole advantage.

HE was not able to comprehend the cause of this delay in the chief of the league: the suspicions he entertained of it made him suddenly change the march of his army, and take the road back again to the Somme. An action very pardonable in a

* There is scarce any skirmish or battle of which as much may not be said. Although there are a great number of writers, and even contemporaries, who have treated of the military exploits contained in these Memoirs, I cannot meet with two who agree exactly in these descriptions. D'Aubigné, in that of the encounter at Aumale, does not even mention the king's wound, which was the only one he ever received in his life. Matthieu, ibid. p. 100, and our best historians differ but little from our Memoirs.

† Henry having sent to the prince of Parma to ask his opinion of this retreat, he replied, that "indeed it was a very fine one; but that, "for his part, he never engaged in any place from whence he was "obliged to retire." Peref. ibid. part. ii. It was on this occasion that Du-Plessis-Mornay wrote this excellent letter to the king: "Sire, in war you have been an Alexander: it is time you should now "be Augustus: it is our glory and duty to die for you; and yours I "dare tell you, sire, to live for France," &c. Notes upon the Henriade.

foreigner, who saw himself in the midst of a strange country, where he alone was to sustain the war. Henry, who, without considering what was glorious for himself in this last battle, called it only the error of Aumale, and being solicitous to repair this heroic error, could not resolve to suffer the Spanish general quietly to retreat; putting off therefore the cure of his wound to another time, he again mounted his horse, and harrassed the prince continually, only regretting that he could not do more. But he had a politic general to deal with, who, notwithstanding all his endeavours, presented him always with an infantry in front, which he could not break through; and observed so prudent a conduct, that it was not possible, even at the passage of the river, to have an encounter with him. The king at length, quitting him at Pontdormy, returned to Neuf-Châtel, to have his wound cured, at the house of monsieur de Claire; where I was received as a friend and relation. I kept only a valet de chambre, a page, and a footman with me, and sent all the rest of my equipage to my quarters before Rouen.

The success of the siege became more uncertain every day: at last the king was informed, by a courier, that Villars, at the head of two hundred musqueteers, and three or four hundred soldiers, had in the night made a furious sally on the side of Darnetal; that he had penetrated even into the king's quarters, where he had cut all the German foot to pieces, and carried off six pieces of cannon, and all the powder; that afterwards, pursuing his advantage, he had fallen upon the trench, which he attacked behind; had killed there three or four hundred men, and put the rest to flight: in a word, that he did not retire till he had destroyed almost all the works of the besiegers.

This melancholy news recalled the king immediately to Rouen: he was there convinced, that this misfortune was wholly occasioned by the marechal de

de Biron's fault; but although he looked upon it as irreparable, and hated this commander *, yet he took care to conceal his ſentiments. That irreconcileable averſion which the catholics of his party bore to the proteſtants, made them ſeize this opportunity to inſult the marechal de Biron, who, next to the king, was looked upon as the chief ſupport of the proteſtants. The catholics ſaid openly, that heaven would never favour Henry's party, while he continued a heretic (a reflection very unreaſonable and unjuſt, the ſucceſs he had hitherto met with conſidered;) that they expoſed themſelves to the divine vengeance by aſſociating with that reprobate body. From thence, animated by their zeal, they formed a deſign of taking up the huguenots, who had been interred indiſcriminately with the catholics, and leaving their carcaſſes a prey to the crows. Two things hindered the execution of a deſign as contrary to religion as to nature itſelf: the difficulty of diſtinguiſhing the bodies, and fear leſt the proteſtants, who compoſed two thirds of the army, ſhould think their honour engaged to revenge upon the living catholics an outrage, which, through a zeal for religion, exceeded all others.

The king, who perceived theſe diſpoſitions on both ſides, inſtead of blaming any particular perſon, or ſuffering a diſcontent to appear, which might increaſe the public broils, affected to ſay openly, that the misfortune was not ſo great as had been repreſented. In reality, it did not appear of ſuch conſe-

* There cannot be a ſtronger proof of the reſpect and deference which Henry IV. thought himſelf obliged to ſhew the marechal de Biron, than what this prince ſaid one day to Châtillon, on a certain occaſion, when this young man offered ſome very reaſonable advice, but contrary to that given by the marechal: "The goſlings," ſaid he, "would lead the geeſe to the paſture. When your beard is white, "perhaps you may have acquired ſome knowledge. I do not ap- "prove of your ſpeaking ſo freely; that belongs only to my father "here," pointing to Biron, who had threatened to retire. "We "muſt," purſued he, embracing him, "go all to his ſchool." Matthieu, vol. II. p. 16.

quence to the king as a discord in his army, which would either deprive him of all the catholics in his party, or, on the first opportunity, set one half against the other. It was a mortifying circumstance for this prince, in the midst of so many causes of disquiet, to be obliged to keep all within his own breast, and substitute unworthy compliances in the place of absolute commands: but he was not ignorant that the voice of authority, which has the power of subjecting all men, when it proceeds from a person distinguished for his superior abilities, has no effect upon minds by religion inflamed and disunited.

He was persuaded also, that after the misfortune occasioned by such bad conduct, nothing now remained to be done but to raise the siege of Rouen; and he sought for a plausible pretence for doing so, without awakening at the same time the public dissensions. He learnt therefore, with great joy, that the prince of Parma, reinforced by the troops of the duke of Maïenne and Sfondrate, was returning hastily to give him battle. He thought this a favourable opportunity to lessen the shame of raising the siege, and to turn against the common enemy the fury of two parties which were rending his army in pieces.

That he might gain time to abandon his lines without confusion, and regulate the order of his march, he sent Givry to throw himself into * Neuf-Châtel, which the enemy would be obliged to take before they could come to Rouen. This, although a very strong place, did not hold out near so long as was expected: the cause of which is difficult to be assigned; but the whole blame was cast upon Palcheux, who was much weaker, and worse sustained, than Givry †. Although an old officer, and distinguished by his actions and his wounds, he sustained all the

* A city in the country of Caux.

† "Neuf-Châtel might have been taken in an hour's time," says F. Matthieu; who nevertheless, as well as the duke of Sully, blamed Givry for surrendering without making greater resistance. Vol. II. p. 102.

violence

violence of the ſtorm; and was put under arreſt at Dieppe, in my opinion very unjuſtly. The relations and friends whom the garriſon of Neuf-Châtel had in the party of the league, ſeemed to me to be the true cauſe that the place made ſo ſlight a reſiſtance. It ſurrendered in the middle of March. The king, by his care and diligence, repaired this misfortune, and brought off his troops from Rouen, without receiving the leaſt check †; and putting himſelf at their head, advanced without loſs of time to that ſide on which the prince of Parma was approaching the city.

On his arrival at a plain, where the enemy's army muſt paſs, he waited for it; and, as ſoon as it appeared, ſent and offered the prince of Parma battle. The prince accepted it with a joy that was far from being ſincere: he was afraid of engaging with a general ſuch as he knew Henry to be, and of expoſing to the event of a battle the reputation of the greateſt warrior in Europe, which a long ſeries of great actions had acquired him amongſt his partiſans. Finding himſelf now in ſuch a ſituation as that he might be forced to fight, he had recourſe to one of the moſt artful ſtratagems imaginable to avoid it: he cauſed the beſt troops amongſt all his battalions to advance, and compoſed of them a front of battle; behind which he drew up, as without deſign, all his cavalry. Under favour of this front of infantry, in ſuch order as was uſual for an action, and ſeeming to wait only for the ſignal, all his cavalry, the remainder of his foot, and the whole baggage, entered into the defiles which ſerved for an outlet to the enemy's camp; and, covered by hills and buſhes, which the prince of Parma knew well how to take advantage

† This ſiege coſt the king a great many ſoldiers: in thoſe times it was reported, that he loſt three thouſand men, and the beſieged only five hundred. The earl of Eſſex challenged admiral de Villars to ſingle combat, who replied, that his quality of governor would not allow him to accept his challenge. See the Chron. Novenn. and Mezerai.

of, they saw themselves immediately out of reach of the king's army; who were ignorant of all that passed behind the camp. This front of infantry, which had no depth, taking the same rout after the others, in four and twenty hours all disappeared; nor was it possible, on account of the ground being full of narrow streights and necks of mountains, to disorder the enemy's retreat, nor to engage with his rear-guard.

The prince of Parma was extremely rejoiced, that, without the least loss, he had reached almost the gates of Rouen. He knew no person would be rash enough to attempt to storm him under the walls of this city: his design, therefore, was to stay there six weeks, which was a sufficient time to refresh his army in, and afterwards to march back to the Somme by Neuf-Châtel, Aumale, St. Valery *, and Pontdormy; confining all the expeditions of this campaign to the advantage of putting this capital, and the rest of the cities that kept firm to the league, out of a condition to apprehend any thing from the king's army. Henry penetrated into this general's views; and laying aside his design of making head against an army so advantageously posted, suffered the prince of Parma to enjoy his triumph, and laid another snare for him. He disbanded his whole army, as if it was now become useless to him, or that he was constrained to it by necessity. Part was dispersed in Arques, Dieppe, Gournai, Andely, Gisors, Magny, and other distant places; and part had Mante, Meulan, and the adjoining places for its quarters: the rest he spread about Pont de l'Arche †, Evreux, Passy, Vernon, Conches, and Breteuil, and fixed himself at Louviers. This conduct was sufficiently justified by appearances: it would not have been long possible to have subsisted a

* St. Valery in Picardy.

† All these cities, as likewise the places above named, are in Upper Normandy.

numerous army, had he kept them together; but by the disposition of his quarters, particularly the last, where he had distributed all his best troops, and the promise he had exacted from his officers to repair to Pont de l'Arche at the first order, it was easy for him to reunite his army in a short time. This separation, he did not doubt, would make the Spanish general perfectly secure, and furnish him with some means of surprizing him, at least in his retreat.

In effect the prince of Parma, fearing that Rouen, surrounded by so large an army, would be in want of provisions, represented to them that there would be no danger in spreading himself over the country, and made part of his troops advance to Ponteaudemer: d'Hacqueville ‖ delivered up this city to him cowardly enough; and the king not only seemed to be indifferent about it, but also feigned ignorance of the enemy's design upon Caudebec, which greatly annoyed the city of Rouen; and neglecting to send supplies to la Garde, who was governor of it, suffered this place to be taken likewise. He observed, with extreme satisfaction, that the enemy, after these two conquests, drawn by the conveniency of lodgings and provisions, extended themselves alone the Seine, below Rouen, as far as they could. The Spanish general, however, was not without suspicion of some design in this inactivity, so unusual with Henry; and probably, had he been the sole commander of this army, he would not have hazarded so much. But his collegue, the duke of Maïenne, who was detained in Rouen by an indisposition, assured him there was no danger; and he believed it, upon a supposition that he was better acquainted with the state of the country.

The king, finding the enemy contributed of themselves to serve his designs, resolved to hasten

‖ - - de Vieuxpont, lord d'Hacqueville. He was gained, 'tis said, by a sum of money.

the execution of them. In leſs than eight days he aſſembled twenty thouſand foot, and eight thouſand horſe, with whom he ſpeedily advanced to Varicarville and Fountaine-lebourg. All the paſſages between Rouen and Caudebec he ſhut up, and began with revenging himſelf completely for the taking this place and Ponteaudemer, by cutting off from the troops, which were there, all communication with the body of the army, which put them wholly into his power. He afterwards went in perſon with ten thouſand foot, and three thouſand troopers, to attack the enemy's van-guard, commanded by the duke of Guiſe. The ſurprize into which his ſudden arrival threw this troop, gave him an eaſy conqueſt of them. The duke's ſquadrons were broke through at the firſt onſet, and he was obliged to fly with precipitation towards the body of the battalions, leaving, with a great number of the ſlain, all the baggage, which was very conſiderable, in the power of the victor.

The prince of Parma, ſtruck as with a thunderbolt at this news, applied himſelf wholly to ſecuring his other quarters, by placing the duke of Guiſe at Yvetot, and in fortifying the camp, in which he lodged his diſperſed troops, on all ſides. He was deſirous of quartering all the army there; but as this camp was too ſmall to contain it, he commanded the reſt not to remove far from it, to guard their poſt with great care, and to keep themſelves very cloſe. After this precaution, which he did not think ſufficient, to ſupport all the lodgments ſpread around his camp, he poſted three thouſand men in a wood which bounded them, fortified this wood all round with intrenchments, and joined it by a line of communication with the camp. The laſt ſtep the king had taken made him extremely formidable to the prince of Parma; but this prince thought to eſcape him by his great foreſight, and diligence in going wherever his preſence was neceſſary: he was

again

again miſtaken. The next day the king ordered the baron of Biron to attack the wood with a body of eight thouſand infantry, compoſed of an equal number of Engliſh, Dutch, and Germans, in order that they might be animated by emulation to excel each other, and cauſed them to be ſupported by ſix hundred troopers, completely armed. The attack laſted three hours; at the end of which the wood was carried. Thoſe who defended it, ſeeing themſelves broke through, fled in diſorder to the fortified camp, after having loſt eight hundred of their men. Their flight expoſed the greateſt part of the lodgments, particularly that of Yvetot, where the prince of Parma thought he had incloſed, as in a ſafe aſylum, the duke of Guiſe, with the ſame vanguard that had been ſo badly handled before. Henry, as if he had a perſonal hatred to the duke of Guiſe, haſtened to reconnoitre the quarter of Yvetot; and judging by the alarm, and the confuſed cries he heard there, that their conſternation was not yet over, he fell upon this quarter with four hundred muſqueteers and a thouſand foot, armed with piſtols and halberts, and attacked it in ſeveral places at the ſame time. The prince of Parma, who had not expected ſuch rapid exploits, ſaw his whole van-guard upon the point of being put to the ſword; and taking counſel only of neceſſity, ran thither himſelf, and vigorouſly ſuſtained our efforts, till the troops of this whole quarter had gained the fortified camp. He loſt there ſeven or eight hundred men, almoſt all private ſoldiers. The greateſt misfortune was, that in this action, wherein he behaved like a man who knew as well how to fight as to command, he received a very dangerous wound in the arm *.

‖ The little reliance one can have on the exactneſs of thoſe military details which the hiſtorians give us, is ſhewn particularly in this, in which I have obſerved a great many contradictions amongſt them, with regard to the encampments, and the number and date of the encounters. The author of theſe Memoirs relates all theſe expeditions in ſuch a manner, that he ſeems to allow but three or four days for

NIGHT approached before this battle was ended. The king, inſtead of taking any reſt after a day of ſuch extraordinary fatigue, employed the night wholly in preparing himſelf for greater advantages. Judging, therefore, that the enemy's army, numerous indeed, and covered with intrenchments, yet diſmayed, and half vanquiſhed, would keep cloſe within the camp, where their numbers would do them more harm than good, he heſitated not a moment in reſolving to ſtorm it. The readineſs and diſpatch, which governed all the actions of this prince, was in him not only the effect of nature, but the fruit of reading, in particular the lives of Cæſar and Scipio, whom he ſtudied preferably to all the conquerors of antiquity. He drew out in the night ſix pieces of cannon, which he directed againſt the fortification of the camp, that he might make uſe of them at the dawn of day. He viſited his whole army; and kept it in ſuch a diſpoſition, that it might at the ſame time and place be drawn out in order of battle. His commands were ex-

actions which could not, and were not, performed in leſs than three weeks. He can no otherwiſe be juſtified, than by ſuppoſing that he intended to give a ſlight notion only of this campaign. D'Aubigné, either becauſe he was ignorant of the facts, or had no deſign to relate them minutely, gives room for the ſame miſtake, as our Memoirs, vol. III. b. iii. c. 15. It is in de Thou, Davila, Matthieu, Cayet, and the Memoirs of the league for the year 1592, that we muſt look for them; although, as I have juſt ſaid, their relations differ in many circumſtances. According to the Memoirs of the league, which, in my opinion, merit moſt to be credited, the king defeated the duke of Guiſe on the 28th of April, and another body of troops on the firſt of May: on the 5th attacked the fortifications before the camp; and on the 10th, at five o'clock in the morning, began the great attack, in which the prince of Parma received this dangerous wound, vol. V. De Thou will have it, that it was at the taking of Caudebec that the prince of Parma was wounded, and that he did not paſs the Seine till the 22d of May, b. ciii. Cayet is of the ſame opinion, vol. II. b. iv. p. 82, and following. Matthieu blames Henry IV. for not taking the duke of Mayenne priſoner at the ſkirmiſh of Yvetot, and, with as little reaſon, for avoiding a deciſive battle, p. 109. The king is by ſome others accuſed of ſtill greater faults, in being ignorant of the prince of Parma's preparations to paſs the river, and with not knowing how to prevent him.

ecuted

ecuted with the greateſt exactneſs: his former ſucceſſes gave an authority to all his words, that made the moſt mutinous obedient.

HERE it is impoſſible to forbear praiſing the prince of Parma for a conduct, which, in my opinion, can never be ſufficiently admired. His camp lay between Rouen and Caudebec, at ſome diſtance from the Seine, over which, in all that ſpace, there was not any bridge; yet the next morning the whole camp was deſerted. All the troops, who indeed lay there in heaps one upon another, thoſe that were in Caudebec, and, in general, all that were ſpread about the neighbourhood of it, had tranſported themſelves to the other ſide of the river. Can it appear otherwiſe than a fable or an illuſion? Scarce could the king and his army truſt the evidence of their own eyes.

THE prince of Parma had foreſeen the king's reſolution to attack him in his camp the next day; and he did not doubt, after what had paſſed, but it would be ſtormed, and his whole army delivered up to the mercy of the victors. A foreſight uſeleſs, and only productive of deſpair, to any other, whoſe prudence had not beforehand provided a reſource: for notwithſtanding all the duke of Maïenne's repreſentations, he had not delivered himſelf up ſo entirely to that ſecurity he would have inſpired him with, as to neglect any means that might extricate him from danger, if it ſhould happen that he ſhould be one day obliged to engage with the enemy in a country where there were ſo few reſources, as on the borders of the Seine below Rouen.

THESE meaſures had been to provide himſelf ſecretly with all the boats he could find, which he cauſed to be brought near Caudebec. It was to this precaution, which few generals would have been capable of, that the prince of Parma owed the ſafety of his troops, and the preſervation of his glory, reputation, and perhaps his life. He cauſed theſe boats

to be laid over the river in the night; and notwithſtanding the diſorder of his camp, and the inconvenience ariſing from his wound, he gave ſuch good orders, that a bridge was built that very night, over which his whole army and baggage paſſed ſecurely. This we received particular information of the next day at Caudebec, which ſurrendered as ſoon as we approached. He only deſerves the reputation of a conſummate warrior, who, before a battle, is as cautious as if he was perſuaded he ſhould be conquered, and in it behaves as if he was ſure of conquering.

On the king's ſide, but one moment was loſt in aſtoniſhment: all the others were employed in taking ſpeedy meaſures to deprive the Spaniſh general of part of the fruits of his dexterity. Henry, after having well conſidered his attempt, and removed all doubts of ſucceſs from his own mind, held a council of war, and there propoſed to paſs his army over Pont de l'Arche, or at Vernon, and purſue the enemy immediately. Some of us, though indeed a very ſmall number, ſupported this propoſition as it deſerved. If it had been followed, this campaign had perhaps put an end to the war: but, as it ſhould ſeem, the prince of Parma, having performed actions that lifted him above humanity, obliged fortune now to come over to his ſide; for, upon the propoſal of marching the army to Pont de l'Arche, a cry was raiſed in the council, and a kind of general mutiny, as if the king had made the moſt unreaſonable propoſition imaginable. The catholics, the proteſtants, and foreigners, ſeemed to outvie one another in ſearching for difficulties to oppoſe it: they cried that the prince of Parma's army, being in a level country, might get to the gates of Paris * in four or five days;

* It is acknowledged by de Thou, that the king might have ſtopt this army, by ſending his cavalry to ſhut up the paſſage to Pont de l'Arche. It is with great injuſtice, as we find here, that he charges Henry IV. with this error.

whereas

whereas it would be as long before we could gain Pont de l'Arche. They repreſented to the king, that the way through which they muſt paſs being full of foreſts, mountains, and defiles, the army could reach the rendezvous but in ſmall diviſions; and that, although it ſhould have time to come up with that of the league, the fatigue of ſo troubleſome a march would make it impoſſible for them to attack it. In a word, they all treated this propoſal as a deſign equally ridiculous and chimerical.

THE king, more enraged at the ſecret intentions of thoſe who talked to him in this manner, than the purport of their diſcourſe, could not hinder himſelf from replying with ſome bitterneſs, That all theſe difficulties were only unſurmountable to thoſe, to whom fear and a diſlike of fatigue made them appear ſo. He convinced them they might reach Pont de l'Arche in two days, and Vernon in four, from whence they might continually ſend detachments of four or five hundred horſe to retard the prince of Parma's march; to which alſo the many obſtacles he would meet with would contribute, ſuch as the paſſage over the river of Eure; Louviers, Paſſy, Maintenon, Nogent-le-Roi, and Chartres, all being ſufficient to oblige him to go greatly out of his way: that the enemy had no bridge open to them but thoſe of Aquigny, Cocherel, Seriſy, and two or three others which lay out of their road; and that it would not be impoſſible to break or burn part of theſe bridges before the enemy arrived.

THESE arguments ſufficiently proved the king's propoſal to be practicable; and it may be ſaid, that the general officers, by refuſing to yield to them, reſiſted the ſtrongeſt conviction. And this naturally occaſions two reflections: firſt, how it happened that a prince, who in all his expeditions made uſe of mercenaries, picked up wherever he could find them, of different countries, manners, religions, and intereſts, often a very ſmall number, and always ready

dy to mutiny, ſhould be able to perform what is related of him in this hiſtory. The ſecond is, what this prince would have done, if, inſtead of ſuch troops, he had had a conſiderable number of well-diſciplined ſoldiers under his command, all united, obedient to his will, conſtantly attached to his perſon, and willing to ſacrifice their lives for him; in a word, ſuch troops as thoſe conquerors had, whoſe actions have been ſo highly extolled by poſterity? If theſe reflections are not made every time they offer, it is becauſe that is in every page: and, beſides, no one can be ignorant, that we ſhould judge very ill of merit and abilities by ſucceſs, if we did not at the ſame time judge of the ſucceſs by the obſtacles.

It is ſcarce poſſible to aſſign a reaſon for that invincible obſtinacy which the general officers in the king's army diſcovered upon this occaſion, in oppoſing ſo prudent a propoſal, unleſs it was owing to that diſpoſition of mind which I have juſt now mentioned. If a ſmall number of French proteſtants be excepted, whoſe fidelity was unqueſtionable, and moſt of the Engliſh troops, who ſeemed to act ſincerely with us, all the reſt of the king's army, proteſtants, catholics, and foreigners, ſerved him without affection, often unwillingly, and perhaps wiſhed more than they feared that he might ſuffer ſome conſiderable loſs. However, notwithſtanding this diſguſt to their leader, on ſome occaſions they all performed their duty, and ſeconded him bravely: ſuch had been the attack of the duke of Guiſe, the encounter at the wood, and the battle that followed it. Such would have been the attack of the prince of Parma's camp, if he had waited for us; for at that time all the king's operations, which he knew well how to give a dependence upon each other, were executed with ſuch rapidity, that he did not ſuffer their courage, when once heated, to have time to cool, nor their minds to return to their uſual habit of thinking. The behaviour likewiſe of a

ſmall

ſmall number of brave men is alone ſufficient to raiſe emulation in a whole army, and force it to follow their example, when they are once engaged: but this fierceneſs, and this ardour, abated, their former ideas return with greater violence, and are ſo much the more capable of embittering their minds, as they then become ſenſible that they have done the very contrary of what they intended. Unhappily the leaders of the royal army were in this unfavourable diſpoſition, when the king made a motion to purſue the prince of Parma. The catholics, who had a little time before publicly declared that they were reſolved to withdraw their aſſiſtance, if the king did not abjure calviniſm, within a certain time which they preſcribed to him, and reunite themſelves with the reſt of France, there to appoint a king of their own religion: theſe catholics could not reliſh a project, which, by making the king maſter of his enemies, would put him in a condition of giving them the law, inſtead of receiving it from them.

THE huguenots, who feared this change of religion as much as the catholics endeavoured to enhance the neceſſity of it, took umbrage at every thing, and always thought they were upon the point of being ſacrificed, while the king only ſacrificed himſelf to that neceſſity which obliged him to endeavour to gain the catholics. Through an apprehenſion that, by extirpating the league, they ſhould only labour for the catholics againſt their own intereſt, they the eaſier reconciled themſelves to circumſtances which would at leaſt make the balance even, and render them neceſſary: and, in caſe the king ſhould one day forſake their religion, they were reſolved to take ſuch meaſures before-hand, as might make them be feared both by the catholics, and him whom they gave them for a maſter.

THESE precautions were, to procure a great number of towns to be yielded to them, to obtain ſuch favourable edicts, and ſo many other ſecurities, that the

the king, although a catholic, ſhould find it his intereſt to be well with them. It was towards this end that the duke of Bouillon, who governed abſolutely the reſolutions of the army, directed all his views, and to which he made the five or ſix hundred German horſe under his command ſubſervient. On the ſlighteſt occaſion of diſcontent, or rather on the firſt caprice, they broke into murmurs, and threatened, as they did then, that they would return immediately to Germany. The king, being obliged to behave in ſuch a manner as to ſatisfy equally ſuch oppoſite parties, was greatly perplexed by his endeavours to ſtifle theſe ſeeds of diviſion: he was deſirous of avoiding an open rupture, or at leaſt of protracting it, till he ſhould be out of danger. It was this perplexity that reduced him to compliances very prejudicial to his affairs.

THERE is no maze ſo intricate as was the diſentangling thoſe intereſts which divided the different parties that compoſed the king's army. I have yet but touched upon the ſmalleſt part. The catholics, beſides their common object, had each of them his own private one in view, which was to make Henry purchaſe their perſonal ſervices at a very high price; and he was convinced, that without this ſatisfaction they would not bring affairs to a general concluſion. The intereſts of the French calviniſts were not entirely the ſame with thoſe of the foreign proteſtants. There were certain times when the Engliſh, who alone were united, murmured amongſt themſelves, that, in all the dangers they were expoſed to, they were actuated by a principle of generoſity, which, whatever turn affairs might take, would bring them no advantage; and, while this reflection employed their minds, they would look upon themſelves as madmen, who ſacrificed their lives purely to gratify the paſſions of foreigners, and demand leave to retire, as they did upon this occaſion, when they abſolutely refuſed to engage beyond the

the Seine, seeing neither any security or resource for them in a country at such a distance from the sea. To exasperate them more, and to strengthen their suspicions, the catholics seized those moments of discontent to persuade them, that the king's abjuration was become absolutely necessary.

With regard to the other foreigners, who were paid for their services, d'O, and these same catholics, had a secret equally short and infallible, and they made use of it frequently: this was to keep the king in want of money. Therefore, when the Swiss and German horse were asked if they would pursue the prince of Parma, they replied only by demanding their pay; swearing, that, if it was not instantly given them, they would return to their homes, or engage in the service of the league.

Even the Spaniards, the king's declared enemies, had also their intrigues, and took part in this prince's affairs. At this very time they made a proposal to him, not only to withdraw their troops, but even to lend them to him, to serve him against the league, in a word, to put the crown upon his head, provided he would yield Burgundy and Brittany to them for ever. In order to assist the king to subdue those scruples which the making such an extraordinary gift might raise in his mind, they recalled to his rememberance the example of Francis I. who, they said, in a situation less pressing, had given up to them the * sovereignty of Flanders and Artois; and that of Henry II. who had given Spain more towns † than were contained in both those provinces.

* By the treaty which was passed during the imprisonment of this prince at Madrid, the 25th of February 1526, Francis I. resigned his claim there likewise to the duchies of Burgundy and Milan, to the kingdom of Naples, &c. but this treaty was declared void by the states of the kingdom assembled at Cognac.

† By the treaty of Château-Cambresis, in Jan. 1559, after the battle of St. Quentin, for three cities only of Ham, Câtelet and St. Quentin, France yielded to Spain and her allies more than an hundred and fifty fortified places. The constable Montmorency's jealousy of the duke of Guise, and his eagerness to be freed from his confinement,

The king had sufficient reason to believe that so unseasonable a negotiation was a piece of Spanish artifice, in the taste of Hagemeau, which tended only to create more confusion, and render him suspected both by the protestants and catholics: but, although this proposition had been really sincere, he had a motive for rejecting it infinitely stronger, which was the implacable hatred he bore Spain and the house of Austria.

At last even the league, for some view or other, entered into the resolutions that were taken in the king's council. Villeroy, Jeannin, Zamet, and others, offered Henry, in the name of the league, to give him the crown upon certain conditions. It is very difficult to guess the true cause of this step: whether disgust at the pride and insolence of the Spaniards, an artifice to procure new supplies, or a design to alienate the protestants from the king. The only evidence of the sincerity of this proposition was the very hard conditions that were annexed to it: I shall soon have occasion to enlarge upon this subject.

One of the least consequences of this chaos of views and interests was the spreading over every affair an impenetrable obscurity, and creating in every mind jealousy and distrust. It is indeed surprizing, that after this the protestants and catholics could live together in the same camp, without exposing the king to the grief of seeing them mutiny, or cutting each other's throats. Those who in a prince sought for what is termed policy, might here find sufficient room to praise the prudence of a king who kept so many jarring interests united, and to admire his discernment in distinguishing those who acted with fidelity towards him: nor ought it to pass unobserved, that so many secret and various designs left an appearance of order and tranquility. Falsehood assumed the semblance of truth, and enmity concealed itself

ment, made him conclude this treaty, at which the whole kingdom murmured.

under

under the diſguiſe of friendſhip. Thoſe who pretended the greateſt affection to the king, either betrayed him, or laboured only to advance their own intereſt.

It would be uſeleſs to diſſemble, that the marechal de Biron often played this game, either through malice at being refuſed the government of Rouen, or deſire of protracting the war ‖, or a diſpoſition that took pleaſure in creating diſcord and confuſion. He was never known to agree with the general opinion, or to yield to the king's inclinations. He always contradicted, either for the ſole pleaſure of contradicting, or becauſe he would oblige every one to embrace his opinion. In the council, when the queſtion that has occaſioned this digreſſion was debated, he was neither for purſuing the enemy, nor for ſtaying in Normandy: he thought it was neceſſary to go before and wait for the prince of Parma on the frontiers of Picardy, through which he would be obliged to paſs in his return to Flanders. A project uncommonly chimerical, which was immediately applauded by the proteſtants, who were devoted to the will of this marechal.

The king ſaw plainly, that all endeavours to retain ſuch diſcontented troops in his ſervice would be in vain. The campaign was drawing towards an end, and a ſiege ſo long and fatiguing as that of Rouen, made the ſoldiers extremely deſirous for reſt. The king was reſolved to grant it them: he followed that maxim, that a prince ſhould always have the appearance of doing voluntarily even what he was conſtrained to do. He told the foreigners, that he was willing they ſhould return home, and gave them permiſſion to do ſo. He diſtributed all the money he had amongſt them, leaving himſelf without any to ſupply his neceſſary expences: and though

‖ "What then, raſcal! wouldſt thou ſend us to plant cabbages "for Biron?" ſaid this marechal to his ſon, who propoſed to him an expedient to finiſh the war at one blow, Perefixe, part ii. ibid.

they

they were not wholly satisfied in this respect, yet they had reason to be pleased with the noble manner in which he praised and thanked them for their services. As he had left Normandy in peace, and (except Rouen, and a few other cities) entirely reduced under his obedience; and as there was no reason to apprehend that the army of the league would come thither soon, he permitted all the officers of his army, as well catholics as protestants, to retire to their habitations: and, to lay the marechal de Biron under a necessity of not abandoning him with his protestants, which, after this permission, he foresaw he would do, he declared that he would follow his advice, and in a few days would set forwards to Picardy; not that he really entered into this marechal's views, but as he had not yet shewn himself in that province, nor in Champagne, he thought it necessary to make himself known there, and to endeavour to conciliate the affection of the people towards him. A secret * and more powerful motive contributed to favour and confirm this resolution; and Biron, who knew and flattered the king's weakness, drew from thence his best reason.

****

BOOK V.

WHILE the king with a few protestants pursued the road to Picardy, the prince of Parma hastened to Paris, from whence, without any difficulty, he returned to Flanders, but little satisfied with his campaign, discontented to the last de-

* His passion for mademoiselle d'Estrées. He sometimes stole away from his army to go and see her. He once disguised himself like a country man, passed through the midst of the enemy's guards, and came to her house, not without hazarding the danger of being taken. Notes upon the Henriade.

gree

gree with the league, and its chiefs, and much troubled at a wound which he knew was incurable.

It is in general, and particular histories, that a relation of all that was performed this year, and the preceding, in different parts of the kingdom, must be sought for. The attack of St. Denis *, where the chevalier d'Aumale lost his life; the taking Stenay and Dun, in Lorrain; the defeat of the sieur d'Amblise, with the duke of Bouillon's † other exploits, either before or after his marriage; the loss of the battle of Craon ‡; the defeat of the sieur de la Guerche, and the blockade of Poitiers, are the principal actions, to which an infinite number of others in Provence, Dauphiné, and Poitou, may be added. From the departure of the prince of Parma, to the negociations which preceded the king's coronation, many things happened worthy of notice, and may likewise be found there. I have, in another place, excused my silence on these heads, and the liberty I allow myself of relating only the most important facts; among which are those that regard the

* Claude de Lorrain, knight of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, having surprized this city at the head of a body of troops in the service of the league, de Vic ran and beat them back. The chevalier d'Aumale was killed in this encounter.

† The duke of Bouillon took Stenay the same day that his nuptials were celebrated. Africanus d'Anglure d'Amblise, general of the troops of Lorrain, coming to attack Beaumont in Argonne, a city three leagues from Sedan, which the duke of Bouillon had taken from the duke of Lorrain, Bouillon defeated his troops under the walls of this place, and d'Amblise was slain.

‡ This battle was fought before the city of Craon in Anjou, which was then besieged by the royalist troops; they were composed of French, English, and Germans, to the number of 7 or 8000 men, commanded by the duke of Montpensier, the prince of Conty, the duke of Damville, &c. who were defeated by the duke of Mercœur at the head of the Spanish troops, and those of the league. About the same time, George de Villequier, viscount de la Guerche, attempting to pass the Vienne, a river in Poitou, was defeated at the head of a small body of troops of the league, and himself drowned in the river. See a relation of the blockade of Poitiers, and the several skirmishes before this city, in d'Aubigné, vol. III. book iii. chap. 11. For all these expeditions consult likewise the historians above cited.

count

count of Soiſſons, and the duke of Epernon; and even theſe the narration I have juſt made has not permitted me to enlarge upon.

THE count of Soiſſons ‖, after having abandoned the king's party, and been at open variance with him at Bearn, ſtill retained hopes of marrying the princeſs, his ſiſter, of whoſe affections he always remained maſter. By the death of Henry III. to whom he had laſt attached himſelf, he was left in the king's army, whom he ſerved without affection, and only till he had reſolved upon ſome new project, or till ſome opportunity favourable to his paſſion preſented itſelf. He thought he found one in the ſiege of Rouen, an enterprize, in his opinion, of too much importance to afford the king leiſure to employ himſelf in other affairs. He pretended to take a journey to Nogent, and, ſtealing away from the camp, went ſecretly, and with the utmoſt expedition, to Bearn, in order to accompliſh his marriage there unknown to Henry. But he was one of thoſe perſons, whoſe moſt inconſiderable actions were ſtrictly obſerved by the king. This prince penetrating into the count's deſigns, ſent ſuch orders there, that the count, upon his arrival at Bearn, found the princeſs Catherine indeed in the moſt favourable diſpoſitions towards him, and ſome ſay that ſhe had herſelf preſſed him to come thither; but it was quite otherwiſe with the council, to which the king, in his abſence, had committed the care of the province. The ſieur de † Pangeas, who was at the head of this council, oppoſed him boldly, ſhewed him the orders he had received from the king, raiſed the country upon him, and obliged him at laſt to return to France, with the diſgrace of having failed in his attempt; for which the count could take no

‖ Charles of Bourbon, ſon of Lewis the firſt, prince of Condé, (ſlain at Jarnac) and of Frances d'Orleans-Longueville. He died in 1612.

† --- de Pardaillan de Pangeas, or Pangeac.

other

other vengeance on Pangeas, than by throwing him down a ſtaircaſe one day, when he met him in the king's apartments at Pontoiſe.

By theſe ſtrokes the count of Soiſſons's character may be eaſily underſtood; to finiſh the picture, let it be added, that there never was a more blind or more boundleſs ambition. To him every new event appeared to lead him a ſtep forwards to the attainment of his ends, and engaged him in new meaſures, which threw him at ſo much the greater diſtance from them, as he imagined he approached nearer. He himſelf knew not the object his wiſhes aimed at; reſtleſs, uneaſy, and jealous, his ambition was fed by every thing, and drew advantage from nothing. Nature had given him qualities quite contrary to thoſe of the king; he reſembled him neither in humour nor manners. The king was open, frank, and generous; the count of Soiſſons to a mind naturally reſerved, and incapable of a wiſe foreſight, added an affected moderation and deſpicable cunning. He endeavoured to impoſe upon the world an aſſumed ſeriouſneſs for an air of grandeur; laboured to appear impenetrable, and miſtook the frozen countenance which falſe gravity wears for reſpect. Pomp, and the oſtentation of grandeur, was his taſte: in a word, ambition had taken abſolute poſſeſſion of his heart, and his whole behaviour was made up of ceremony and formality. The near affinity this character bore to that of the Spaniards in general, was perhaps the ſource of that antipathy the king conceived for him, and which he could never ſurmount.

As for the duke of Epernon*, ambition was not his predominant paſſion; he was likewiſe actuated

* John Lewis de Nogaret de la Valette, duke of Epernon, colonel general of France, governor of Guyenne, Metz, and the county of Meſſin. He died in 1642, aged 88 years; and, as the author of his life obſerves, he was the oldeſt duke and peer of France, the oldeſt officer of the crown, general of an army, governor of a province, knight of any order, and counſellor of ſtate, and almoſt the oldeſt man of rank in his time. They called him the king's wardrobe, be-

by an unconquerable pride; an insolence, or rather a natural ferocity, that shewed itself in every word and action. Ambition, 'tis said, makes use of various methods to accomplish its designs. Epernon, regarded in this light, could not be an ambitious man, for he used only one, which was that haughtiness by which he expected to carry all before him. In a word, ambition was, in him, but a natural love of independence, inspired by a harsh disposition, misanthropy, and a presumption that made him consider himself superior to friendship and rewards. He hated the king, because he hated the whole world; and, without doubt, there were moments when he was not well satisfied with himself. A constant disobedience to his superiors, an insolent behaviour to his equals, and a cruel and insupportable conduct towards his inferiors, make up the rest of his character.

Epernon, finding that his enterprizes had not the success his pride had flattered him with, was obliged to alter his behaviour, and sometimes, tho' but seldom, behaved courteously to those whom

cause of the great number of posts which he possessed in this prince's household. There is recorded an excellent answer of his to Henry IV. who one day in anger reproached him with not loving him. The duke of Epernon, says his historian, without being surprized at the king's rage, answered coolly, but with great gravity, "Sire, your "majesty has not a more faithful servant than myself in the king-"dom: I would rather die, than fail in the least part of my duty to "you; but, Sire, as for friendship, your majesty well knows that is "only to be acquired by friendship." The king, who equally knew how to admire great actions and speeches of this kind, converted all his indignation into esteem, &c. Life of the duke of Epernon, page 225. The character which is here given of him by the duke of Sully, is rather too disadvantageous; however, it would not be easy to refute what he says: all the historians agree with him in charging the duke of Epernon with a boundless ambition, and his correspondence with Spain is proved by several letters of the cardinal d'Ossat. As for his extraction, "Patrem, says Busbeq, habuit bello egregium, 'avum tabellionem sive notarium." Epist. 17. On the contrary, according to father Vaissette, he descended from William de Nogaret, famous for his quarrels with the pope in the reign of Philip le Bel. Consult likewise our genealogists.

he

he might have occaſion for; but even his kindneſſes, if that phraſe may be allowed when ſpeaking of him, had a ſort of ſpleen and contempt in them: ſo that if he hated the world, he was equally hated by it; no one ſerved him from any other motive than fear, which was the cauſe that with great diſpoſitions for war, and in a ſituation which might have made them uſeful, he ruined his affairs. Provence and Dauphiné held for him, and for Valette* his brother. Theſe provinces, whoſe governor, before him, had been the grand prior †, the natural brother of their three laſt kings, deſpiſed him for his extraction, and hated him for his cruelty. They were rejoiced when Epernon (who when Henry III. was living would not remove far from the court) ſent them la Valette in his ſtead, who made himſelf beloved in Provence, and ſerved the king with fidelity. Henry III. becoming acquainted with the true character of his favourite, began to be apprehenſive of him himſelf; he diſgraced Epernon, and had thoughts even of putting him under an arreſt at Angoulême. La Valette, on this occaſion, loſt his government; but all was reſtored to them after the murder of the duke of Guiſe, which laid Henry III. under the neceſſity of ſtrengthening himſelf with every one whom he could engage in his party, at any price whatever. After the death of this prince, Epernon, whoſe vanity would not ſuffer him to obey the king of Navarre, quitted him at Pontoiſe, notwithſtanding all the inſtances he made him by meſſieurs de Bellegarde and Roquelaure to return, to which he condeſcended himſelf to intreat him. To oppoſe a king was a circumſtance highly flattering to his pride, and in his government of Provence he forgot nothing that might contribute to it: he was the firſt amongſt the nobility to ſign the king of Navarre's excluſion from

* Bernard de Nogaret, admiral of France.

† Henry, count d'Angoulême, ſon of Henry II. and of ---- Livingſton, a Scots lady.

the crown. It will not be rash to judge, by Epernon, of the sincerity of this plea of religion, with which it was then usual to cover a design of restraining the lawful authority.

The remainder of the duke of Epernon's history will give a superficial knowledge of the affairs of the provinces in the south of France. He there experienced great reverses of fortune: the two brothers assisting each other mutually, were often worsted, and could not prevent three or four considerable parties from being formed in Dauphiné and Provence, which opposed them there, without reckoning one in each of the great towns, who endeavoured to make themselves independent. The duke of Savoy *, and the duke of Nemours his brother, carried on intrigues there, and their party became very powerful, after the king of Spain had permitted the duke of Savoy, who was his son-in-law, and whom he vigorously supported, to be acknowledged count of Provence, and hold this fief of his crown. In the midst of their successes, these two princes met with a formidable rival, who stopped their career, and reduced their party to ineffectual menaces. This was Lesdiguieres †, remarkable for his valour and good fortune against the duke of Savoy. He always continued faithful to the king, and could never be reproached with having appropriated to himself the fruits of his actions, nor of having coveted the sovereignty of Dauphiné. Perhaps he only wished that the king might long have occasion for his assistance, and never come into this province. Messieurs de Montmorency, and d'Ornano ‡, gave great strength to this party. The others were formed by the duke of Joyeuse ‖, the countess of Sault, and the count

* Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy. He died in 1630.

† Francis de Bonne, duke of Lesdiguieres, constable of France.

‡ Alphonso d'Ornano, colonel of the Corsicans.

‖ Antony Scipio, knight of Malta, who took the title of duke of Joyeuse after the death of his brothers. Christina d'Aguerre, countess

of Carces, with the ſieur de Vins. Lewis d'Aix and Cajoux, Ligny, Martinengue, and many others, raiſed tumults there, and filled theſe countries with diviſions and ſlaughter; but their faction did not yet extend itſelf beyond the bounds of one city. La Valette was hardly able to ſupport himſelf longer in Dauphiné, when he was ſlain at the ſiege of a little inconſiderable town ‖. The duke of Epernon immediately invaded this government: for form's ſake he demanded letters patent for it from the king, who durſt not refuſe them to him; but, inſtead of quelling all theſe different parties, he went thither only to make a new one, upon which the king had as little reaſon to depend as any of the others. One may judge of this, by what paſſed at the ſiege of § Villemur, the only action which I ſhall give a particular relation of from memoirs, the authenticity of which I can anſwer for.

THE duke of Joyeuſe, a zealous partiſan of the league in Languedoc, having drawn together five or ſix thouſand foot, and eight or nine hundred horſe, in the neighbourhood of Toulouſe, advanced with them on the 15th of June, in the year 1592, towards Montauban, pillaged the little villages, and the flat countries, and after exerciſing all the cruelties uſual in thoſe miſerable times, came and laid ſiege to Villemur.

THE ſieur d'Ariat, after whom I relate theſe circumſtances, and the citizens of Villemur, had recourſe to Thémines *, who commanded for the king in that province, and intreated him to come immediately with powerful ſupplies to their aſſiſtance. Thémines, knowing he was not ſtrong enough, addreſſed himſelf to the duke of Epernon, and while

counteſs of Sault, baroneſs of Vienne. Gaſpard de Pontevez, count of Carces. Hubert de la Garde, lord of Vins. Charles de Caſaux, &c.

‖ Roquebrune in Provence.

§ A city of Languedoc.

* Pons de Lauſiere de Cardaillac, afterwards marechal of France.

he waited for the reinforcement the duke promiſed to give him, ſent a detachment of ſmall bodies of cavalry and foot, which got into Villemur with great difficulty, the troopers on foot, becauſe their horſes could be of no uſe to them, the city was ſo cloſely invironed. Joyeuſe was ſeverely puniſhed for the error he was guilty of there, as we ſhall ſee preſently. This error was the attacking the town itſelf, inſtead of beginning with the caſtle, which, although much ſtronger in appearance, was in reality the weakeſt. Without doubt he was not ſufficiently acquainted with the place, or had a deſign to make uſe of the magazines of corn, and other ammunitions, of which he knew it was full.

Epernon ſent indeed a conſiderable body of troops; but as he had given them orders to act but faintly, and particularly to avoid hazarding much in fighting, theſe troops, although great expectations were raiſed by them, minded nothing but recreation, abandoned their poſts, and by their bad example did more harm than good to the other royaliſt ſoldiers. Joyeuſe, who did not want courage, eſpecially when he was to act in perſon, finding the occaſion favourable, and perhaps doubtful of the duke of Epernon's deſigns, fell upon his ſoldiers, ſurprized them, and would have made a great ſlaughter, if Thémines had not run thither time enough to ſave the remainder; he could not, however, prevent ſeven or eight hundred from being ſlain. There needed no more to make Epernon * recal them abſolutely. Thémines afterwards ſtrongly ſolicited both him and the marechal de Matignon for aſſiſtance, but in vain; and all he could do was to throw

* All this is ſo poſitive, that it may ballance the authority of de Thou, who mentions this fact very favourably for the duke of Epernon, and that of the author of this duke's life, who maintains that his ſoldiers drove thoſe belonging to the league from Villemur, and put this place into a ſtate of defence, p. 134. The Chronologie Novenn. agrees here with our Memoirs, book iv. p. 63. as likewiſe the Memoirs of the league, vol. V.

himſelf

himself into Villemur, with d'Ariat, two hundred and fifty arquebusiers, and about a hundred or a hundred and twenty troopers, to support the besieged, whom Joyeuse pressed more vigorously than before. He obliged Reiner, who was lord of it, but who was grown too infirm to perform the duties of a governor upon this occasion, to go out, and resolved to defend himself there till the last extremity, being assured that the king, whom he acquainted with his situation, would not suffer him to perish.

In effect, this prince wrote instantly to the dukes de Montmorency and d'Epernon, to send him supplies. Epernon, accustomed to disobey, gave no attention to this order; but Montmorency sent him Lecques † and Chambaut, with some brave protestant troops. These were still too few in number to oppose the army of Joyeuse, lately reinforced by the inhabitants of Toulouse: Lecques, and Chambaut, therefore, had recourse to Messilac, lieutenant for the king in Auvergne, and to the viscount de Gourdon, as remarkable for his courage and fidelity as for his deformity. These two officers marched immediately to the assistance of Villemur, with eight hundred arquebusiers, and two hundred and eighty horse. Joyeuse sent to offer them battle, which they refused, warned by the misfortune which had happened to Epernon's troops, and solicitous only to accomplish their first intention. After this refusal, the besiegers cavalry, who found themselves too much straitened in their lines, demanded permission of Joyeuse to remove into the neighbouring villages, which this general granted with some difficulty, and contrary to the opinions of the sieurs d'Onous and Montberaut. He obliged the officers to give their words, that upon the first signal which should be made them, they would return to the camp.

Messilac, Lecques, and Chambaut, perceiv-

† Antony Du-Plessix, lord of Lecques.

ing that this removal of the cavalry had extremely weakened the army of the beſiegers, divided their whole foot into four bands, to each of which they added fifty troopers, whom they cauſed to diſmount. A regiment of eight hundred men was drawn up in battalia within view of the intrenchments, with orders to charge on a certain ſignal. Four hundred men attacked the firſt intrenchment, and were ſupported by the four troops. The guard there uſually conſiſted of no more than two hundred foot; but Joyeuſe, who had ſpies amongſt us, being informed of the deſigned attack a few moments beforehand, ſent thither four hundred men more, and at the ſame time made the cannon fire three times, which was the ſignal agreed upon with his cavalry. It happened, that either through ſlackneſs in obeying on their ſide, or eagerneſs on that of the proteſtants, this cavalry did not come up till after the action was begun. Our men advanced before ſun-riſe, and falling upon the firſt intrenchment, laid a hundred of thoſe who defended it dead upon the ground; the reſt fled towards the ſecond intrenchment, and carrying thither only their fears, this, though much better than the firſt, was likewiſe ſtormed with conſiderable loſs.

THEMINES beholding all within the walls, ſeconded the aſſailants, and made ſo ſeaſonable a ſally, that he completed the rout of the beſiegers. Their cavalry ſhewed themſelves that moment at the head of the camp; but inſtead of putting a ſtop to this confuſion, they no ſooner perceived the eight hundred men, which compoſed the body of reſerve, with three hundred horſe puſhing againſt them, than they followed the example of the reſt of the army, and fought for ſafety in flight. Their terror increaſing every moment, it ſoon became a general rout, which it was not in the power of Joyeuſe to prevent. Dragged along himſelf with the fugitives, he gained a bridge of planks and ropes which he had ordered

ordered to be thrown over the Tarn. The number of thoſe who haſtened thither, on this ſide, overcharging this bridge, it ſunk under Joyeuſe, and he and all that were with him were ſwallowed up in the river. Fear had ſo blinded the reſt of the troops, that ſtill imagining they ſaw a bridge where none now was, they plunged into the waves where it had ſtood. More than three thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe periſhed on this occaſion, either by the ſword or the water. A prodigious loſs for an army ſo inconſiderable, whereas the royaliſts loſt only thirty men. The citizens of Villemur beheld this aſtoniſhing ſpectacle from the top of their walls, with a joy mingled with wonder and horror; which made them compare an effect of fear, which had the appearance of a miracle, with that which the ſacred hiſtory relates of the Egyptians at the paſſage of the Red-ſea. But to return to the king.

THIS prince went into Picardy, and in order to give employment to his troops, ſent the marechal de Biron to beſiege Epernai. The ſiege was long and obſtinate; Biron was ſlain there by a cannon ball*. And if the king, who during that time ſtaid at Compiegne, had not reſolved to ſhew himſelf before this city, they would have found great difficulty in taking it. He defeated ſome powerful ſuccours that were endeavoured to be thrown into the place, and obliged it at laſt to ſurrender.

HIS funds failing him entirely, he was obliged, after this expedition, to diſband the remainder of the foreign troops. He continued ſome time longer in his quarters, upon the report that was ſpread of the prince of Parma's having returned into France

* Which took off his head. He was almoſt as famous for his learning as his abilities in war. De Thou greatly regrets the loſs we have had of his Commentaries. He commanded in chief in ſeven battles, and every wound he received in theſe battles made a ſcar. He was godfather to cardinal de Richlieu, who was named after him. The city of Gontaut, in Agenois, gave its name to this family. See the panegyric of this marechal in Brant. vol. III.

to execute the great projects he had formed against the king. The death of this brave general * happened very fortunately for Henry, who saw himself not in a condition to oppose such an enemy. The Spanish army, having lost its leader, dispersed. The time that was taken up in appointing his successor, gave the king leisure to breathe again; he drew near Paris, and thought of nothing but taking advantage of the Spaniards removal.

I DID not attend the king in his journey to Picardy; I went to Mante, where finding madam de Châteaupers in a disposition favourable to my love, I married this lady, and our nuptials were celebrated the same day that the prince of Parma †, with his army, passed through Houdan.

To confess the truth, the king's politics were not to my taste. I saw with pain, that the exigency of his affairs laid him under the necessity of complying with every desire of the catholics, while the protestants were neglected; and after the departure of the foreign troops, which gave their rivals many advantages over them, their assistance was of no

* At Arras, in the abbey of St. Vaast. The Spaniards were accused of having poisoned him through jealousy, but the wound he received in Normandy the year before, joined to the bad make of his body, was the only cause of his death, as was acknowledged when he was opened. Cayet, ibid. 90. See in de Thou, book civ. a panegyric on his great qualities. His body was carried through Lorrain to Italy attended by 160 horse, caparisoned in black. He was no more than 48 years of age. He complained of being twice poisoned by the Spaniards, if we may believe d'Aubigné, who assures us, that the Italians were so fully persuaded of it, that from that time they could never endure the Spaniards, vol. III. b. iii. chap. 28. And this also is the opinion of Eongars, book xlix.

† This could not be till the 23d or 24th of May, as the prince of Parma did not pass the Seine till the night of the 21st or 22d of that month. Here then is a mistake either in the New Journal of Henry III. printed in 1720, (where in the 271st page, the duke of Sully's marriage is observed to be celebrated on the 18th) or in the Memoirs of Sully. The baron de Rosny's second wife was called Rachel de Cochefilet, daughter of James lord of Vaucelas, and of Mary d'Arbaleste. She was first married to Francis Huraut, lord of Châteaupers, and Marais, who died in 1590. She survived the duke of Sully, and died in the year 1659, aged 93 years.

con-

consideration. I had, in particular, often experienced the effects of their hatred or jealousy, from whence I concluded, that I should never be able to advance my fortune. I was likewise disgusted with the king's behaviour towards me; his coldness, though I knew it to be feigned, had such an appearance of a total estrangement, that I determined to quit war, and retire to my estate, there to live far from business, and the tumult of life.

The event justified the king's prudence, and I was the first to come over to his opinion, and to give him advice very opposite to my former sentiments; but then I saw things with other eyes. The reflection on all that the protestants and myself had endured; the little consideration I appeared to be then of, and somewhat of that general disposition of mind which always dictated the interest of religion, formed all my resolutions, and were the foundation of that system I built for the king, and which at that time seemed to me to be the only reasonable one. I would have had this prince, doing justice to those who had served him with zeal and affection, to have refused all other assistance, and cast himself entirely in their arms. I was persuaded that after such an open declaration of his dependence upon the protestants, England, Holland, and all the protestant powers in Europe, would exert themselves so effectually in his favour, that they would soon, without any assistance from the catholics, seat him upon the throne. In this, as in every thing else, the king's understanding was superior to mine. He knew, from the first moment, that a kingdom, like France, was not to be gained by foreign hands; and although it had appeared even possible, yet it was the hearts of the French, rather than their crown, that this good prince sought to conquer. And he would have thought the rewards which, on that occasion, he should be obliged to bestow upon the authors of his

elevation, to their prejudice, to have been an encroachment upon their lawful rights.

My laſt motive for retiring was, that a little after I arrived at Mante, the wounds in my mouth and neck, which I had received in that unfortunate rencounter at Chartres, opened again, and obliged me to go to Roſny to be radically cured, to prevent the fatal conſequences which generally attend wounds of that nature. I continued there ſome time: after a life ſo tumultuous, as that which, till this moment, I had led, I taſted, with higher reliſh, the ſweets that retirement offers to a heart detached from ambition. I amuſed myſelf there with writing the events varied by good and bad fortune, to which I had been expoſed for the ſpace of twenty years.

Buhy*, the king's lieutenant in the Vexin, came one day to viſit me, and informed me that the king had written to all the governors to draw together what troops they were able, and to come immediately to his aſſiſtance; for it was about this time that they were in expectation of the prince of Parma's return into France; and Buhy therefore aſked me, if I would not, upon this occaſion, do as others did. This queſtion recalled the remembrance of the many governments which I had requeſted, and had been denied to me; and, laſtly, the poſt of one of the king's lieutenants, which the duke of Nevers, and the catholics had hindered me from obtaining, in a very haughty and inſulting manner. I anſwered this officer, with ſome emotion, that if the king had had any occaſion for my ſervice, he would have done me the honour to write to me. Buhy found ſomething of anger in my reply, and, like a good courtier, exaggerated it, when he repeated it to the king, and gave him to underſtand, that he ought no longer to have any dependance on me, for I had reſolved to ſpend the reſt of my days in the country. This cir-

* Peter de Mornay de Buhy, brother of Du-Pleſſis-Mornay.

cumſtance was added by himſelf; for I did not eſteem Buhy ſo much as to make him my confidant. "His "diſpoſition then is greatly altered," replied the king immediately, "for he never failed to be preſent "on ſuch occaſions as are now approaching. Al- "tho' he excuſes himſelf on account of his wounds, "I know well enough what detains him; he is of- "fended with me, and not without reaſon. He "would play the philoſopher for the future; but "when I ſee him, I ſhall be able to make all up "again; for I know him thoroughly."

THIS converſation paſſed in the preſence of the preſident † Seguier, who dined with me ſome time after, and related it to me. Having freely diſcloſed my moſt ſecret thoughts to this great magiſtrate, whom I knew to be my friend, an honeſt man, and an excellent politician, he anſwered me in theſe words, which I ſhall never forget, becauſe they firſt opened my eyes, and removed my prejudices. "Sir, "you appear to me to be touched with reſentment. "We live in a time when tranquility is very diffi- "cult to procure. The wiſeſt amongſt us are "ſilent, and patient, in hopes of more favourable "days, and the king is ſo prudent, and ſo virtuous, "that God has, no doubt, reſerved our reſtoration "for him."

FROM that moment, finding no other inconveni- ency from my wound, than a little difficulty in ſpeaking, I began again to ride, and followed by fifty horſe, I made excurſions over the great road of Verneuil and Dreux to Paris, in order to reſume my former occupation, which I perceived was again likely wholly to engroſs me. In the ſecond of theſe journeys, one day when I was riding towards Dreux, between the villages of Marolles and Gouſſainville, I met ten or twelve men on foot, who, the moment they ſaw us, ſtruck into the woods with which that

† John Seguier,

country

country abounds. I followed them immediately, and seized two of them, who had not quitted the great road. These were peasants who were returning from Paris, whither they had been to sell their poultry. I asked them some questions, and they answered me very ingenuously; they told me, that it was their custom to travel in the night, to avoid the inconveniencies they were exposed to in those roads in the day, but that they had taken courage this once, having nine or ten persons in their company, among whom they said were three domestics belonging to messieurs de Mercœur, de Medavy, and de Vieux-Pont.

There needed no more to make me pursue these three men, whose mysterious journey excited my curiosity. It was impossible to overtake them; my people could only seize two others of those that were of Verneuil, from whom finding I could draw nothing by threatenings, I made use of another method. I gave them four crowns, and promised them more, if they would tell me all they knew concerning those three domestics. They desired me to follow them, and led me directly to a large hollow oak, surrounded with thickets, where they told me these servants had stopped, and put some papers into the trunk of this tree: in effect, I found there two tin-boxes, and a ticking sack, which seemed to me to be full. This acquisition consoled me for the messengers escape; and after rewarding the two men, I returned to Rosny, very impatient to open my packets.

They appeared to be such as I wished: in the first I found commissions from the duke of Maïenne to levy soldiers, several letters written in cyphers, in this general's own hand, to the duke of Mercœur: but papers more important engaged all my attention; they related to the third party, which was then beginning to be talked of, and amongst which I found two memorials that seemed to be of the utmost consequence. The first was a memorial of the de-

mands

mands which the president Jeannin * made upon Spain, in the name of the duke of Maïenne; and the second contained the answer given to these conditions by the arch-duke Ernest for the king of Spain. All the reflections imaginable could not throw such light upon the duke of Maïenne's designs, the spirit of the league, and the politics of Spain, as the contents of these two pieces: of which this is an extract.

THE duke of Maïenne submitted the league to the pope, and put it under the king of Spain's protection, upon the following conditions, which regarded the party in general, as well as himself in particular. First, that the king of Spain should furnish, and maintain in the service of the league, an army of sixteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse; in which army there should be two thousand foot, and five hundred troopers, all French, of whom the duke of Maïenne was to have the sole disposal, besides four thousand foot more, and five hundred horse, French likewise, who were to continue near his person only, and to be maintained by Spain: That the number of these troops should be augmented as occasion required: That the duke of Maïenne should have the chief command of these troops, and those of the party, with the title of lieutenant-general of the crown, till a king of France was elected: That this election should be made in a general conference, by which they certainly meant the states of the kingdom: That till this election was made and confirmed, the pension which Spain already paid to the general should be augmented to as much more, that is, from thirty thousand livres a month, to sixty, besides a hundred thousand crowns, which he should receive immediately, and a hundred thousand livres after the ratification of the treaty; in expectation of which, they should begin, by putting him in actual

* René Jeannin, baron de Montjeu, president of the parliament of Dijon.

pos-

poſſeſſion of Burgundy: That after the nomination of the future king, the duke of Maïenne ſhould be continued in the government of the ſtate, with the title of lieutenant-general; and that then, and not before, he ſhould yield up the city of Soiſſons to the Spaniards, becauſe it was at preſent the only place of ſecurity he had for himſelf in France: That if he found inſurmountable obſtacles, either in the election of a future king, probably from the king of Navarre, or in the invaſion and keeping of Burgundy for the duke of Maïenne, the king of Spain ſhould make the duke amends, by an annual penſion of three hundred thouſand livres, for the poſſeſſions he might loſe in France; which penſion ſhould never be leſſened or taken away, whatever agreement might be made between the king of Spain and the acknowledged king of France, but be continued to his heirs for ever: That Spain ſhould cancel all the duke of Maïenne's debts, or thoſe of the king elected with the conſent of this crown, if he was a native of France: That they ſhould give ſuitable rewards to the other principal officers of the league; theſe were not expreſſed, either becauſe the duke of Maïenne was leſs ſolicitous about the intereſts of others than his own, or that he thought this article would be eaſily ſettled, becauſe, if money was wanting, the lords might be ſatisfied with penſions, dignities, or governments.

Such were the demands of the chief of the league, in which, as we have ſeen, he did not forget himſelf. For all this, he offered the king of Spain (beſides the crown, which, although he was not mentioned, could only be deſigned for a prince of the houſe of Auſtria, ſince the duke of Maïenne ſeemed to exclude himſelf) he offered, I ſay, a certain number of towns, for whoſe names, as well as that of the future king, were blanks; thoſe that Spain might take being to be reſtored to the French catholics, under the protection of the king of Spain and the duke

duke of Maïenne. All was calculated for the ſecurity and caution of Spain, till the election of a king, without any further explanation; which proves alſo, that they thought this election would ſufficiently indemnify this crown; at leaſt that they wanted, by this inſinuation, to flatter it with hopes, in order to procure an immediate and effectual aſſiſtance from it. What gave riſe to this ſuſpicion was, their care in inſiſting upon, and often reſuming, the following clauſe: That till all theſe articles were agreed to at Madrid, for which they allotted the ſpace of a month, Spain ſhould firſt begin by ſending a powerful ſupply into Burgundy, which they ſaid was in great danger. The more to haſten the reſolutions of this court, the duke of Maïenne, who throughout the whole treaty ſhewed himſelf to be a faithful ſervant (although a little intereſted) of the houſe of Auſtria, proteſted coldly, that if theſe conditions were not thought advantageous enough for Spain, ſhe might turn to whatever ſide ſhe pleaſed, for he was weary with bearing the burden, and wiſhed for nothing more than to be eaſed of it.

But this was only a feint; he had to do with a council who would not ſo eaſily change, and who underſtood their intereſt ſtill better. To this memorial the arch-duke anſwered, in the name of the king of Spain, That his majeſty was well pleaſed with the title of Defender of the league, and would look upon himſelf as chief of the party: That they ſhould find him always ready to grant them whatever ſupplies they demanded againſt the king of Navarre, and even more than they demanded; for he agreed to ſend into Picardy alone the nineteen thouſand men formerly mentioned; it is eaſy to ſee with what deſign, this province bounding the Low Countries; beſides thoſe which he offered to ſend into different parts of the kingdom. He did not ſeem to be ſo much alarmed on account of Burgundy as the duke of Maïenne, probably becauſe the council of Spain diſcovered

covered that this general, who had demanded the poſſeſſion of this province, would be glad that the troops ſhould be all employed there. Upon this article, he only granted wherewithal to raiſe a thouſand German foot, and to maintain three hundred horſe. He added, however, that if the whole force of the war was turned againſt this province, his catholic majeſty would not refuſe to ſend a conſiderable number of troops there; and without doubt, in this he meant to keep his word.

As to what regarded Maïenne in particular, his catholic majeſty appeared much leſs liberal. Of all the articles this was the moſt reduced: he would make no addition to the penſion of thirty thouſand livres a month; and would grant him but, and that only while he continued in perſon in the army, two thouſand foot, and five hundred troopers. Upon the other articles he was ſilent. With regard to thoſe places which might be ſeized, Spain conſented that the duke of Maïenne ſhould keep what he had taken, provided ſhe was allowed to do the ſame: ſhe would not relinquiſh her demand of Soiſſons, and was abſolutely reſolved to have this city for a ſecurity for thoſe advances ſhe made in this war; ſhe promiſed only to reſign it after the election of the king: this nomination appeared ſtill uncertain to Spain, who gave them to underſtand, that if ſhe was ſatisfied with it, every thing might be expected from her gratitude, but beforehand ſhe would riſk nothing. For this purpoſe, all the other articles were left unanſwered, and a new one was added, which was, that the duke of Maïenne ſhould remove certain perſons from about him, who, doubtleſs, did not ſupport the intereſts of Spain with the French general; their names were not written; but it was ſaid, that they had been ſignified by word of mouth to the agent for the treaty. Such were his catholic majeſty's diſpoſitions, who by attending only to his own intereſts,

tereſts, and reſolving to ſell his aſſiſtance very dear, followed exactly the duke of Maïenne's example.

THE reading of theſe papers left no room any longer for reſentment in my mind; and thinking them of great importance to the king, I haſtened immediately to Compiégne. I found time and abſence had not altered his ſentiments with regard to me. I had half an hour's private converſation with this prince, to whom I related in brief the occaſion of my journey. The examination of theſe papers was deferred till the evening of that day, when, all the courtiers being retired, I was introduced into the king's apartment, and remained there ſhut up with him. After his majeſty had ſent for Beringhen and Choirin, to decypher the greateſt part of the papers, from them we learned whom the third party was compoſed of, which as yet had been only mentioned in whiſpers, and had been formed even in the court, and ſupported and directed by the abbé * de Bellozanne, the two Durets, and I believe the abbé Du-Perron; all of them dependents of the count of Soiſſons and the cardinal of Bourbon, and particularly attached to the laſt. In all appearance, theſe perſons were the authors, and at firſt the only promoters, of this faction, which was afterwards joined by meſſieurs de Nevers, de Longueville, de Villeroy, d'O, and the reſt of thoſe catholics who were in the court, who valued themſelves upon being too good Frenchmen to ſuffer the Spaniſh dominion, and too zealous for the Roman religion to conſent to have a proteſtant king. The count of Soiſſons ſome time after joined theſe gentlemen; and it was reported, that, inconſtant to his former miſtreſs, he was ſeveral times upon the point of marrying mademoiſelle de Longueville. They had aſſumed the

* John Touchard, abbot of Bellozanne; Lewis Duret, lord of Chevry, phyſician; and Charles Duret, counſellor of ſtate, intendant and comptroller-general of the finances, and preſident of the chamber of accompts.

name

name of politicians, to distinguish themselves from the royalists and leaguers, and to shew that they regarded the good of the state, and the preservation of the rights of the crown, beyond every other consideration. Their principal view was alike to exclude every foreign prince, the duke of Maïenne, and the king of Navarre, from the throne. The bulk of the party knew no more: but the leaders, who were masters of the secret, thought of nothing but getting rid of the two last by the sword or poison †; after which they might, without any difficulty, make the cardinal of Bourbon king ‡, and not to disoblige Spain entirely, procure a dispensation for him to marry the infanta.

When this project is compared with that of Jeannin, it is matter of surprize, that papers which contained such opposite schemes should be found in the same packet. Without seeking for the reason of it in the secrets of Providence, which by presenting the king, at one and the same time, with all the plots that were formed against his person, seemed to suggest to him such measures as were necessary to prevent them; it is my opinion, that it may be found in the different interests of those persons who corresponded together, and some from a great distance, such as the duke of ‖ Mercœur, without any other motive than that common hatred they bore to the king, which gave birth to a thousand chimerical designs, and delivered them up to those hints which darted into their minds, without any other fixed and determined object than that of excluding the king of Navarre. In such a confusion of sentiments, it is not

† This accusation is to be met with in no other writer, and is of the number of those which the author ought not to assert without giving likewise a proof.

‡ His name was Charles, he was the third son of Lewis I. prince of Condé, and Eleanora de Roye. His other brothers were, Henry, prince of Condé, Francis, prince of Conty, and Charles, count of Soissons.

‖ Philip Emanuel of Lorrain.

sur-

ſurprizing, that he ſhould by the ſame means meet with ſuch oppoſite ſchemes.

I CONTINUED three days at Compiégne, in which time I had ſeveral conferences with the king, who appeared to be ſenſibly affected with the deſigned attempts againſt his perſon, becauſe he had flattered himſelf, that his conduct would have ſuppreſſed ſuch thoughts. He ſent me to Mante, perceiving that my endeavours to ſpeak in theſe converſations might open my wounds. I received from this good prince all the marks of a tender and unbounded confidence. At parting, he deſired me to obſerve carefully every motion of his enemies, and to prepare myſelf to give him good advice on his arrival at Mante, being reſolved, he ſaid, to regulate his behaviour in ſo difficult a conjuncture wholly by my directions. He ſtayed no longer in Picardy than was neceſſary to make ſome proper diſpoſitions there, and ſet out for Mante. This city he preferred to any other, becauſe by its ſituation it was beſt fitted to diſcover and overthrow the different cabals of his enemies, at a time when the intrigues of the cabinet were likely to ſucceed the operations of war. His council was already there, and he cauſed the princeſs, his ſiſter, to be conducted thither alſo. After the diſcovery this prince had juſt made of the plots that were laid againſt his life, it would have been the greateſt imprudence imaginable to have neglected any precautions neceſſary for his ſecurity. He doubled his guards, placed in Limay, which is the ſuburb of Mante, a body of Engliſh troops, whoſe affection to him was unqueſtionable, and reſolved to hold all the world ſuſpected, ſince he was convinced that thoſe perſons whom he had admitted to his councils, his table, and his pleaſures, were capable of forming the moſt violent reſolutions againſt him.

IF of all the favours that a prince (as eſtimable for the qualities of his mind as for the greatneſs of his actions) could grant, eſteem and tenderneſs are

thoſe

those which have most effect upon a man of honour, how much am I obliged to this prince, who honoured me in particular with his confidence at a time when infidelity, treachery, and all that interest could suggest to subjects who had exalted this idol in the place of love to their king, had left him no other part to take than that of a general reserve and distrust. Nor can I forbear to add (for why should I omit a circumstance which of all others seems most likely to procure me the esteem of truly virtuous persons?) that in a conjuncture so delicate, this prince was resolved to resign himself wholly to my direction, and to me confide his destiny and crown *, for without

* If we may believe de Thou, Gaspard Schomberg, count of Nanteuil, Lewis de Revol, secretary of state, and himself, contributed to fix Henry IV. in his resolution of changing his religion. There is not a historian who ascribes it to any one particular person; they do not even seem to have thought of Sully in this affair, which however does not invalidate the truth of what is asserted in this part of his Memoirs, that it is chiefly, and even in some manner wholly to him, the honour of it is due. Tacitus tells us, that Augustus, after having deprived one of his chief ministers entirely of his favour, permitted him still to have the appearance of enjoying it: with regard to the duke of Sully, it was quite the contrary, for he already was in absolute possession of his master's favour, while no one suspected it. And that which is most remarkable in their history is, that a long time after this minister's favour with the king was known, by his being in possession of the first employments in the kingdom, even until his master's death, in public the king behaved to him with the utmost circumspection; while in private, never were familiarity and confidence carried farther between a king and his subject. Hence it was, that in some histories of Henry the Great, the authors of which, without penetrating into the secrets of the cabinet, contented themselves with representing only the public face of affairs, the name of Rosny is never mentioned, and that of Sully, so well known to writers better informed, very seldom, considering the part Sully played during the ten or twelve last years of this prince's life. Incomprehensible as this reserved and mysterious conduct appears, those who reflect upon the situation of affairs in those times, together with the religion of the duke of Sully, will comprehend, without any difficulty, the necessity the king and his master were under, to observe this conduct, and never to depart from it. Nor is this one of the least instances of the prudence and abilities of these two great men. I thought it necessary to make this observation once for all. "Rosny," says Matthieu the historian, vol. II. page 278. "had a long time a "share

me he undertook not the ſmalleſt affair, perſuaded that the advice of a man actuated by a ſincere attachment to him, and (if I may uſe the expreſſion) a true friendſhip, ought to be preferred to penetration and ability, when they are joined with a doubtful fidelity. Nothing ever gave me ſo pure and noble a delight as the honour of ſuch a diſtinction: but after having reſigned myſelf up to it ſome moments, I perceived the weight of that burden I was loaded with, and trembled amidſt my joy, leſt my weakneſs and incapacity ſhould engage me in ſome falſe ſtep that might prejudice, not me, for on thoſe occaſions ſelf, I believe, is leaſt in one's thoughts, but the prince who had laid it upon me.

FROM this moment, all thoſe precautions the king made uſe of for the ſafety of his perſon, I alſo obſerved in the advice I was going to give him. I prepared myſelf for it by the moſt ſerious reflections on the ſtate of the neighbouring kingdoms in general; and on that of France, of the parties into which it was divided, and of the king, in particular. I conſidered, that if in ſuch employments as mine, one cannot even be guilty of unintentional faults, without deſerving ſome reproaches, we draw thoſe reproaches upon ourſelves when we act according to the dictates of paſſion. This reflection led me to ſtudy carefully my own diſpoſition, and the bent of my inclinations, and convinced me of the neceſſity of beginning with obliging my own heart to ſubdue and forget itſelf. A ſerious review of my paſt conduct ſhewed me the injuſtice of thoſe complaints which I ſuffered frequently to eſcape me againſt the king's behaviour to me and the reſt of the proteſtants. I ſearched into the ground of it, and I ſoon found it in that common prejudice, that to be worthy of the religion one profeſſes, cruelty, perjury, and deceit,

" ſhare in the ' ing's moſt important affairs; and from the time of " Henry III. was one of his moſt intimate confidants," &c.

ought

ought to pass for nothing, provided one can secure the success of it. I suppressed these sentiments, equally injurious to the author of religion, as dangerous to him who makes use of such unworthy means: and when I declare, that there was nothing I more distrusted than those snares which the zeal of religion might lay for me, I shall be easily believed, if the advice I gave the king be attended to.

When I was thus certain of myself, I the less feared to carry my views into that impenetrable chaos of different interests, and into future events, which offered, on every side, nothing but frightful precipices. Must the miseries of France be perpetuated by giving arms, perhaps, for more than an age, to two parties in religion, then almost equal? Must a prince, who so well deserved to be happy, wear away his whole life amidst the horrors of a war, which till then had not given him time to breathe; and, if I determined upon this, prepare for him labours infinitely greater than all he had yet endured? On the other hand, ought I to expose the whole body of protestants in France, who sought only justice and peace, to become victims of human policy, and deliver them up to the snares of their most cruel enemies; and while uncertain of the event of the war, and at a time when the king might be suddenly taken off, ought I to bring things to such an extremity, that France might, perhaps, become a prey to Spain, and to all her neighbours, or dismembered by a thousand tyrants, lose in one moment the glory of her name, the lustre of her monarchy, and the succession of her kings? What miseries to be expected by a war? what snares to be dreaded in a peace? how many dangers to be apprehended on all sides? Was it possible to take any resolution, when alarmed by so many inevitable evils?

But the greatest danger was the not fixing upon any resolution at all. At last, when all was thoroughly examined, it seemed necessary to prefer that

that which would put an end to the civil war, reſtore tranquility to France, ſubmit it to a good king, and put it in a condition to take vengeance on its foreign enemies: I mean that reſolution which might the moſt effectually remove the preſent inconveniencies, and procure time to bring a remedy for thoſe that were to be apprehended. In one word, I reſolved to prevail upon the king to embrace the Roman catholic religion *, and to perſuade him to it by degrees. I was ſenſible, that by this means I ſhould give diſguſt to two ſorts of perſons, the proteſtant neighbours of France, and the French calviniſts. But as to the firſt, France, when united with itſelf, had no occaſion for any foreign aſſiſtance: and it wa. eaſy give the ſecond ſuch advantages, as would make them behold this change without murmuring. With regard to both, I depended upon that gratitude which a prince like Henry could not fail of having for perſons to whom he owed ſuch powerful obligations.

THESE reflections wholly employed my mind from the moment I left Compiégne, and I was ſtill abſorbed in them when the king arrived at Mante. The firſt thing he did, was to ſend for me to come to him with the uſual precautions. Jaquinot introduced me into his chamber before day, and we immediately entered upon our ſubject. Henry, who on his ſide had made a thouſand reflections on the perplexing ſituation he was in, began by drawing a very natural repreſentation of it; irreconcileable intereſts in the princes and nobility of the kingdom; hatred amongſt themſelves, and rage againſt him; mutiny and diſobedience in all minds; inactivity in the foreign allies; intrigues and animoſity on the part of the enemies; treachery within; violence without; rocks and precipices on all ſides. The end of this pathetic diſcourſe was to demand what remedy I was able to apply to theſe evils.

* The duke of Sully would then find his ſalvation as much forwarded by the romiſh as the proteſtant religion.

I REPLIED that, without taking upon me to give his majesty advice, I saw only three things for him to do, and he might determine upon which he pleased. The first was to satisfy every one's demands at his own expence, or rather at the expence of the state; the second was not to make concessions to any, but to endeavour to wrestle vigorously with them all; the third, which held a medium between these two, was to take away all obstacles that opposed his advancement to the crown, by turning Roman catholic. The king then told me, that what I had said to him was my opinion only, and commanded me to tell him plainly what I would do in his place. I endeavoured to make him comprehend the full extent of the three different methods I had proposed to him, by examining them one after the other. I made him perceive, that by following the first, he would reduce himself to nothing, and that if there was a necessity to gratify wholly the rapaciousness of Spain, and the French leaguers, he would scarce out of so great a kingdom keep a few provinces for himself. As to the second, I represented to him, that as soon as he would give room to believe, that he depended only upon the claim his birth gave him to the crown, the desertion of all the catholics, and the unbridled fury of a whole nation of enemies both within and without the kingdom, would draw upon him a terrible storm. The inconstancy of fortune, and the usual reverses of war, although this prince had not yet experienced them, found their place in this reflection. As to the third, I was silent, only telling the king, that being a protestant myself, I could say nothing upon this subject.

WHILE I was speaking, I perceived the perplexity, into which the present conjuncture had thrown the king, to increase every moment. I did not doubt, but the review of all the difficulties would bring him to the point I desired. I was sure that he would not pause one moment upon the first of my proposals. I knew

knew him too well to believe him capable of agreeing to an accommodation which would leave him only the semblance of a king, a subject or dependant upon Spain, or reduced at last to a small part of France. It was the two others only that embarrassed him. On one side, he said, by continuing in his religion he saw united against him all the princes of his blood, the nobility of the kingdom, and those that were at the head of all affairs, and the finances, such as messieurs d'Epernon, de Nevers, de Longueville, de Biron, d'O, de Rieux *, de Villeroy, de Manou, de Châteauvieux, de Vitry, d'Entragues, and de Sourdis. It would be too tedious to mention them all. He saw them ready to resolve upon forming against him a body independent of the league, or, what was most probable, and likewise most dangerous, to unite themselves with the league, and deprive him of the possibility of ascending the throne. On the other, he objected the complaints of the dukes of Bouillon and la Tremouille, and the outcries of the protestants whom he was going to abandon; those who were so dear to him, and from whom he had so long drawn his only assistance. He represented them as passing from discontent to a resolution which despair at being sacrificed by an ungrateful prince would inspire, which was to elect another leader, canton themselves out in France, and oblige him to turn his arms against them. He ended with these words: "I can never use them ill, nor declare war "against them, for I shall always love them." This sentiment, which discovered a sensibility so seldom to be found in the hearts of princes, moved me extremely. I thanked him, in the name of all the protestants, by bending upon one knee, and kissing his hand. The reasons with which this prince op-

* René de Rieux, lord of Sourdeac. John d'O, lord of Manou, brother to the superintendant. Lewis de l'Hôpital, lord de Vitry. Francis de Balzac, lord of Entragues. Francis d'Escoubleau, marquis of Sourdis. Joachim de Châteauvieux.

posed his change of religion, and the manner in which he delivered them, were what alone dissipated my apprehensions, and confirmed me likewise in th opinion, that no other remedy could be applied to the present evils. I told him, that messieurs de Bouillon and de la Tremouille, and all of merit and distinction in the calvinist party, would not be so unreasonable as to take arms against him, for a resolution which necessity only had forced him to embrace, when he continued to treat them with that esteem and respect which was due to their persons and services. I explained all my thoughts on this subject to the king, and added, that the foundation of all religions which believe in Jesus Christ, being essentially the same; that is, faith in the same mysteries, and the same notions of the divinity, it seemed to me, that one who from a catholic became a protestant, or from a protestant became a catholic, did not change his religion, but followed, for the interest of religion * itself, that which policy suggested as the most proper means to compose all differences: but although my opinion should be erroneous, yet this must be allowed to be an incontestible truth, that the embracing the catholic religion did not include the necessity of persecuting all others; on the contrary, that God

* Add to these words of the duke of Sully what he says some pages before, and what has been observed a little higher, where he speaks of the duty and authority of kings in religious matters; it may be determined, that he was a calvinist without rigour, and considered all religions as indifferent which agreed in essentials. It is thus, that the author of the MS. which I have quoted in the preface of this work, speaks of it, and it is even the chief of those arguments which he makes use of to justify the duke of Sully for having given to Henry IV. such advice, as, without this, would agree but ill with the laws of conscience and natural rectitude. "It being his opinion," says he, speaking of the duke of Sully, "that the king might as easily work "out his salvation in our religion as in his own, he offered no great "violence to his conscience, in persuading him to this change; on "the contrary, it was effectually serving the state, nay, christianity "itself, without hurting his reputation." Happily, Henry the Great did not adopt the neutral opinions of his minister, as he himself confessed very sincerely.

perhaps

perhaps disposed the king to this change to give a new example to Europe, and one more worthy of religion itself: That the difference of religions had long produced the most tragical effects in France, and was a perpetual source of disorders and calamities, by the aversion with which it inspired people against those of a contrary faith from their own, which was equally the case with the protestants as well as catholics. I told the king, that he might cure this dangerous evil, by uniting those who professed these different religions in the bands of christian charity and love; or, if this was impossible, prescribe to them rules so just, as might make both parties contented with what was granted them. I did not doubt but this prince would be influenced by that single thought of immortalizing his memory, by restoring peace, plenty, and security, to a kingdom wasted with intestine divisions, and of meriting, by the use of those abilities he had received from heaven, the glory of giving happiness to France, after she had begun to despair of it, and to look upon her wounds as incurable. I am certain, that this motive was more interesting than that of his own quiet; which, however, I did not forget: and I obliged Henry tacitly to confess, that his spirits, after being exhausted, if I may use the term, with war, demanded a situation less turbulent, and more tranquil.

The strongest proof of the reasonableness and justice of the arguments I used upon this occasion, was, that the king, who possessed that happy sagacity of distinguishing immediately the truth or falshood of any position, confessed to me that my discourse had penetrated to the bottom of his heart, which, he added, still resisted strangely, but that he believed he should follow no other advice. In effect, at the end of three days, he had taken his resolution, and he now only endeavoured to remove the difficulties which remained. Some of these regarded his own opinion; for as sincerity and rectitude were fixed in

his heart, and regulated all his words and actions, I am perſuaded, that there is not any thing which could have prevailed upon him to embrace a religion which he inwardly deſpiſed, or even doubted of A prince who had never deceived mankind, could have no intention to deceive his God.

THE other difficulties related to the leaders of the proteſtant party, whom the bare propoſition of changing his religion would not fail to make revolt, as well through fear, as a point of honour. He aſſembled them, and addreſſing himſelf to the moſt diſtinguiſhed amongſt them, which were monſieurs de Bouillon, de Sancy, Du-Pleſſis, de Salignac, de Morlas, de Conſtans, and Salettes *; I alſo being preſent. He told them (with an intention to ſound their inclinations) that he had brought them together to know their opinions upon what he had to communicate to them. He ſaid he had received certain advices, that Bellozanne, and the two Durets, agents for the third party, had had an interview with Villeroy and †

* ---- Salettes was preſident of the parliament of Pau, and counſellor of ſtate at Navarre. Morlas, his natural ſon, was member of the privy-council, counſellor of ſtate, and ſuperintendant of the magazines of France. They were both converted. Henry IV. when he was informed of the death of Morlas, who was a man of great merit, ſaid, "I have loſt one of the wiſeſt men in my kingdom." Chron. Novenn. book viii. p. 545.

† After having diligently collected all that the moſt judicious of our writers have ſaid concerning theſe two men, of whom the duke of Sully ſpeaks ſo diſadvantageouſly in many places of his Memoirs, I think I may be able to aſſure the reader, with abſolute certainty, that, on one ſide, their great and only object was to preſerve the catholic religion in France, by excluding the king of Navarre from the throne, till he abjured calviniſm, or to force him to abjure it; and, on the other, to prevent the effect of the Spaniſh policy, the deſign of which was, either to deprive the royal family of the crown, or to diſmember the kingdom. Theſe are clearly proved to be the views of Villeroy, by the conduct he obſerved in the conference at which he aſſiſted, by the advice he frequently gave to the duke of Maïenne, not to confide in the council of Madrid; by the reſerve with which that chief of the league communicated to him his ſecret deſigns; by the account of the preſident Jeannin's negotiations in Spain; by the behaviour of both in the ſtates of Paris, and ſtill more by the hatred the Spaniſh bore them. Their prudence, their moderation, and their abilities in regulating affairs, made them the ſoul of the party, even in oppoſition,

Jeannin, and that it was agreed upon to unite all the forces of the league and the other catholics againſt him; that the time which the catholics had ſo often threatened him with was now come, for they were going to abandon him entirely; their common deſign being now to place the cardinal of Bourbon upon the throne, to marry him to the infanta of Spain, and to endeavour by all poſſible methods to rid themſelves of his perſon. That the cardinal, indeed, had expreſſed great reluctance to comply with this laſt propoſition, but, by all appearances, they would ſoon gain his conſent, when they convinced him, that the crown could by no other means be ſecured to him. He conjured them to tell him ſincerely what they thought he ought to do upon this occaſion, eſpecially upon the deſertion of the catholics, which would reduce his party to the laſt extremity.

By the noiſe and confuſion this declaration raiſed in the aſſembly, it would ſeem that all thoſe who compoſed it, having never made any reflections upon what might happen, incapable of conducting their deſigns prudently, of keeping one determined object in view, or of preſerving any ſincere attachment to the king, had till then thought only of living from day to day; of gaining time, and profiting by their maſter's abilities for war. They could never agree, nor form any reſolutions fit to be approved of. They did not know whether to wiſh for peace, or continue the war. One ſaid, that there was nothing to be done but to reſume their arms, and riſque all at one caſt. Another was of opinion, that by arreſting eight or ten of the principal catholics, who were not yet upon their guard, particularly the contrivers of

oppoſition, if one may ſo ſpeak, to the party itſelf: without them this party, actuated by a blind and furious paſſion, would have plunged the ſtate into abſolute ruin. Conſult Matthieu the hiſtorian, vol. ii. page 66, 69, 86, &c. Chron. Novenn. book ii. &c. De Thou. Memoirs of Nevers. Villeroy's Memoirs, &c. See alſo what has been ſaid upon this article in the preface to this work.

the plot, they might prevent the execution of it. Others more moderate, or perhaps more doubtful, contented themſelves with ſaying, that it would be neceſſary to accommodate matters by negotiations, without adviſing how. I took this hint, and by annexing it to ſome reaſonable expedients, carried all the votes for a negotiation. They were not ignorant that I had ſome influence over the count of Soiſſons, and that I had free acceſs to the cardinal of Bourbon. This cardinal often ſaid in public, that although I was a huguenot, there was no perſon in the world for whom he had ſo ſtrong an inclination as me. I offered to uſe my mediation with theſe two princes, to prevail upon them not to liſten to the perſuaſions of the king's enemies; and the better to enſure ſucceſs, I promiſed I would endeavour to gain their dependents and counſellors, eſpecially the abbot de Bellozanne, the Durets, confidents to the count of Soiſſons, and a lady called madam des Roſieres, an intimate of the cardinal's.

No perſon oppoſed this advice, doubtleſs becauſe the proteſtants, who had heard the declaration, ſenſible they were too weak actually to renew hoſtilities, thought that at preſent there was nothing better to be done. The king, on his ſide, was not ſorry at its being unanimouſly voted by the proteſtants, that he ſhould addreſs himſelf to the princes of the blood, and hold a commerce with the catholics of the league. According to my plan, I began with the abbé de Bellozanne. I knew that jealouſy had made him the ſecret enemy of the Durets, and believed that by taking him on this ſide, confirming him in his hatred, and flattering him with having ſhortly the chief part in all affairs, I ſhould bring him to my purpoſe. I introduced myſelf with telling him, that I was come to thank him, in the name of the king, for having in his favour ſo generouſly o poſed the attempt of the Durets, which could only proceed from the rectitude of his heart, and his goodwill

will towards the king, which his majesty, although he had but a small acquaintance with him, esteemed as he ought: so that he might expect the most convincing proofs of his affection, which would certainly be the procuring him a cardinal's hat, or at least, one of the richest benefices in the kingdom, when those rewards were in his power, by his change of religion, which was likely to happen very shortly.

This introduction, which flattered his vanity extremely, gave me occasion to enter, as if undesignedly, into the secret proceedings of the Durets, which I pretended to be well informed of, in order to learn them from him, and to engage him to oppose them more absolutely. In effect, I had scarce dropped a few words on this subject, when my man, giving way to his inclinations, fell severely upon the Durets, and spoke so much to their disadvantage, that I fell into the other extreme, and believed that he was induced by his hatred of them to accuse them falsely. The hint of the cardinal's hat and the bishopric producing its effect, Bellozanne pretended to feel the zeal for the king's service, which I had affected to attribute to him. He endeavoured to persuade me, that he would oppose the violent resolutions of the catholics, whose intrigues and views he informed me of. I flattered myself for some time, that I had brought over this man to the king; but rogues soon resume their natural character. Immediately after he had made this protestation to me, he made one quite the contrary to the cardinal of Bourbon, and afterwards to Villeroy and Jeannin, to whom he repeated all the conversation he had just held with me. If he drew advantage from his treachery, by the increase of favour it procured him, I, on my side, perhaps, made better use of it for the king, than if he had kept the secret: besides, finding means from thence to inform these gentlemen of the king's disposition to embrace their religion, which drew them secretly towards this prince, Bellozanne's imprudence

dence produced likewise another good consequence, which was the inspiring them with a desire of supplanting each other in their endeavours to acquire his favour. I willingly therefore pardoned Bellozanne's double knavery, and even drew a third fruit from it, with regard to the Durets.

These gentlemen, perceiving the honour Bellozanne had gained by the new secrets he had disclosed to his patrons, and the increase of favour they had procured him, were the more ready to hear the propositions I went afterwards to make them. I told them, the king, offended at the knavery of Bellozanne (which in reality he was, because he had carried it so far as to give umbrage to the protestants) would have no commerce for the future with a man so little to be depended on, and was disposed to make use of them in the measures he would shortly take. I confided some papers to their care, the reading of which I was certain would have a wonderful effect. This was the scheme for an agreement between the league and Spain, and the answer in consequence of it, which they had no knowledge of, and which I shewed to them that moment. This was a mortifying stroke for them; they thought themselves despised, and the project so reasonable as to fear it might be executed, and affairs brought to a conclusion without their participation; which to these sort of men seems the greatest of all misfortunes. They hesitated not a moment in offering me earnestly their services for the king. The change of religion, which I had also insinuated to them, seemed to remove all the opposition that could be made to this prince. They were charmed at being employed in a scheme, the intention of which appeared to them more happy than that which the duke of Maïenne had proposed to Spain: or rather there remained no other part for them to take, after the advantage Bellozanne had just gained over them. In effect, they kept

kept the secret better, and laboured in it to more purpose.

I APPLIED myself afterwards to the abbé Du-Perron*, who by his character, his fame, and his eloquence, had more power with the cardinal of Bourbon, when he wanted him either to take or change a resolution, than all the artifices of Bellozanne and the Durets. We had been acquainted a long time, and he had received some favours from me. I concerted my discourse beforehand, as having to do with a man for whom eloquence, great sentiments, and deep reasoning, had powerful charms †; and I introduced into it as much or more of politics and worldly views, as of religion. My brother, the governor of Mante, was present at this conversation, when after having slided into my discourse some mention of the king's future abjuration, I undertook to prove to Du-Perron, that except Spain and some turbulent persons in France, it was the interest and advantage, not only of France, but of all Europe, that the king of Navarre should ascend the throne, and possess the kingdom in the same extent, and with the same power, which had been enjoyed by the kings his predecessors.

I BEGAN with the pope. I told Du-Perron, that he who had so perfect a knowledge of the court of Rome, knew better than any other person, that Clement VIII. now in possession of the holy see, was neither so violent as Sixtus V. nor so mutable as Gregory XIV. That the pope considered the present affairs of Europe and christianity in a clear and impartial view. That it was not his intention, by breaking the necessary balance between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, to subject France to Spain,

† James Davy-Du-Perron, afterwards bishop d'Evreux, and then cardinal: he will be mentioned hereafter.

‡ The duke of Sully's character of the cardinal Du-Perron seems more conformable to truth, than that given him by Joseph Scaliger, who treats him only as a babler, *locutuleius*, or *locutu leius*.

becauſe he was not ignorant of any of the views of this laſt power for univerſal monarchy. That the pope would in this find not only his intereſt as common father of the catholics, but alſo his temporal intereſt in particular, becauſe Italy and the patrimony of St. Peter would ſoon follow the deſtiny of France, and the other kingdoms; and the pope would be in danger of ſeeing himſelf one day reduced to the quality of chaplain to the kings of Spain. That beſides, his holineſs had too much judgment not to open his arms to a king, as ſoon as he ſhould expreſs his deſire to be received there, without troubling himſelf about that mighty phraſe a relapſe, with which fools only were affected.

THERE was ſtill leſs difficulty to be apprehended, with regard to my propoſition, from the other crowned heads of Europe; I therefore did not dwell long upon them, that I might be at liberty to reſume the converſation upon Spain. I aſked the abbé Du-Perron, if he did not agree with me in the opinion, that thoſe deep politicians who gave riſe to all the diſorders in France, began to deſpair of the ſucceſs of the great project they had formed to conquer all France, and this upon the knowledge they had, as well of the king and the proteſtants in his intereſt, as of the French catholics. Could the king of Spain ever ſeriouſly intend to make a Spaniſh province of France, and flatter himſelf that his domination would be endured by a people, who had alway emulated and hated Spain? Of all this there was already more than bare ſuſpicion.

BY the king of Spain's conduct it was plain, that he imagined the dukes of Maïenne, Guiſe, and Mercœur, ſought only to make him their dupe; nor had he a more favourable opinion of the dukes of Savoy and Lorrain, whom he ſaw make uſe of his troops and money without ſhewing any greater reſpect for him. One convincing proof that theſe were the real ſentiments of Philip was, the propoſitions he had made,

made, and often renewed, to the king of Navarre, by D. Barnardin de Mandoce, Moreau, and the count de Taxis: for, in reality, this prince seeing that all he could pretend to from the troubles in France was, at the most, the possession of two or three of its provinces, it was of little consequence to him, whether he obtained them from the king or the league. It is true, that if he divided France amongst the chiefs of the league, he gained hopes of one day getting it all to himself, by separately attacking those petty kings: but that, in effect, he purchased these hopes at a very high price, by that scarcity of troops and money into which the greediness of the league had thrown him. And although the king should be able to maintain the war but a short time, Philip perceived that he might be obliged to recall the supplies he lent to France, having but sufficient for himself in Flanders, where the war raged more fiercely every day.

Observing that Du-Perron listened to me attentively, and seemed to be convinced of the reasonableness of all I said, I did not so soon quit the subject of Spain. I told him it was not probable that so many brave men, fond of their liberty, their laws, and customs, would ever be easy under a foreign slavery, and resolve to bear away no other reward for their gallant actions, than the honour of being dependents upon the grandees of Spain, or at best pensionaries of a king, who although he had greater obligations to the prince of Parma than to any other person, suffered him to expect no reward of his services till his death: That the whole view of the French lords, by seeming to join the king of Spain, was only to procure the grant of greater rewards from Henry, while he continued in the profession of the protestant religion; after which they would abandon, without any difficulty, that hacknied reproach of a relapse, as well as the design of chusing a king from amongst themselves, the marriages of the infanta,

and all the reſt of their idle projects. For a proof of the truth of what I ſaid, I produced the treaty which the league had propoſed to Henry, by Villeroy and Jeannin, ſoon after the raiſing of the ſiege of Rouen, which I have not given a full account of in its place, but ſhall lay before the reader immediately. After this, turning ſuddenly towards Du-Perron, I aſked him, if he was not of the intereſt of all good Frenchmen, and would not be the firſt himſelf to prevent ſuch deſigns from being effected; whether the good of the ſtate required, that by deſtroying in a moment an edifice which had coſt the kings of France ſuch labour to raiſe, and which ſome of them had cemented with their blood, France ſhould be again filled with thoſe little tyrants, ambitious and cruel, who claimed a right of giving law to their prince, and who were always ready to fly before the firſt enemies that attacked them; And laſtly, if he did not confeſs that a monarchical government, by which all the members are united, and under the direction of one only head, was the moſt glorious and moſt advantageous of any, and for the French nation in particular?

I CUT ſhort my diſcourſe upon this third party of politicians, by obſerving to Du-Perron, that one of theſe two things muſt neceſſarily happen, either that they would unite themſelves to the league, and ſo deprive it of all aſſiſtance from Spain; or take meaſures ſeparately from it, which would produce the neceſſity of deſtroying, or being deſtroyed by it. In any of theſe caſes, nothing could happen that would not be for the king's advantage. To conclude with what related to the king himſelf, I found no difficulty in making the abbé confeſs, that this prince was abſolutely fitted to reign over the French. I repreſented to him, that his reputation was ſo well eſtabliſhed every where, that the league had great reaſon to fear, and the third party (whoſe intereſt and credit were but very ſmall) ſtill more, that in the provinces, where no one delivered himſelf up ſo blindly to the ca-

price of the league as in Paris, they would put themselves entirely under the protection of this prince, when their intoxication was over, and had given place to that love of rest so natural to those who have suffered a great deal. That the provinces began already to discover their discontent openly; but without that, could not the king, brave and experienced as he was, and assisted only by the protestants and foreigners, maintain the war a long time, and guard against domestic attempts upon his person? They had seen him when he had not ten cities in his party, and with only a handful of men, make a stand against all the forces of the kingdom. I concluded with saying, that instead of giving the enemies of France the pleasure of seeing her waste and destroy herself, it was the general interest, to favour and support a prince, who appeared capable of restoring her to her former tranquility, and of raising her to a new degree of splendor.

The abbé Du-Perron had no reply to make to these arguments; he was convinced of their force; and, as I expected, knew well how to bring over the cardinal of Bourbon to his opinion, by adding to them all those which his own penetration suggested to him, and which he did not fail to adorn with all the persuasive charms of eloquence. The remainder of this year, and the beginning of the next, were employed by him and I in going backwards and forwards, and in conferences of this kind. As soon as a negotiation was begun, we had more negotiators than we wished.

It is certain, that Villeroy and Jeannin had a long time before presented the king with the scheme of a treaty, in the name of the league, by which they offered, upon certain conditions, to acknowledge him for king. This piece is curious enough to deserve an abstract should be given of it. The true spirit of the league discovered itself there plainly. The king's abjuration was at the head, as the first and principal condition.

condition. They required, that in the ſpace of three months he ſhould make a public profeſſion of the catholic religion; that he ſhould reſtore it in all thoſe places from whence the ſuperiority of the reformed had baniſhed it; that he ſhould break off all alliance with them; that they ſhould have no ſhare in the dignities, embaſſies, and employments of ſtate of any kind whatever: in a word, that their continuance in France ſhould be tolerated only, and for a certain time.

MANY other articles ſeemed to be inſerted there only to perſuade the people that the chiefs of the league, by treating with Henry, had nothing but the ſervice of religion and the ſtate in view. Such were the clauſes of naming to benefices, conformable to the canons; that of holding the ſtates from ſix to ſix years; and many others.

THESE were all ſpecious conditions, but they added (which was the moſt eſſential point for the authors of the project) That the king ſhould acknowledge, authoriſe, and ſupport the league with all his power: That he ſhould leave a certain number of towns in their hands, without even putting a garriſon into them; the meaning of which was, that he ſhould reign under them: That he ſhould diſtribute all the governments of France amongſt ſuch of his principal officers as they ſhould name to him: That he ſhould keep a ſufficient number of troops to maintain the roman-catholic religion there: That he ſhould not diſpoſe of the taxes, impoſts, and other revenues of the crown; but they ſhould be all applied to this uſe, according to a diviſion proportioned to the quality and occaſions of thoſe governments: That all the garriſons which ſhould be put in the fortreſſes of the kingdom ſhould be paid in the ſame manner. The diſtribution of theſe governments was as follows: Provence was to be given to the duke of Nemours, Languedoc to the duke of Joyeuſe, Bourbonnois and Marche to the duke of Elbeuf,

Elbeuf, Bretagne to the duke of Mercœur, the two Vexins, with the title of governor, to d'Alincourt, part of Normandy to Villars, the Isle of France to the baron of Rosne, Orleanois and Berry to la Chatre, Picardy to the duke of Aumale, Champaigne to the duke of Guise, with the post of high steward, and all the dignities and benefices which his family had enjoyed.

The duke of Maïenne had, with reason, the largest share. To the government of Burgundy, which was allotted for him, they added those of Lyonnois, Forêt, and Beaujolois; and in all these provinces gave him a power that hardly left the king the shadow of any authority: the right of disposing, as he pleased, of governments, lord-lieutenantcies, and other employments, not only in the army, but also in the finances, and courts of judicature; and what was still more, the nomination to ecclesiastical dignities and benefices: and to all these extraordinary advantages, they added the post of constable, or lieutenant-general of the crown. It was this only that seemed worthy of the duke of Maïenne's acceptance. They likewise kept in reserve four marechals batons †, and the league, at their own leisure, were to name the persons on whom they were to be bestowed; besides very considerable pensions to the most distinguished amongst them, they carried their violence so far as to lay the king under an obligation of clearing the debts of some considerable persons of their party whom they should name, to the number of twenty. And, to conclude, withabsolutely tying up his hands, they added, that he should allow the league to chuse the foreign princes that were to accede to the treaty, and be guarantees for

† These four marechals batons were given the following year to Rosne, la Châtre, Bois-Dauphin, and Saint-Pol, each of whom will be mentioned hereafter. On this occasion there is a *bon mot* related of Chanvalon. Sir, said he one day to the duke of Maïenne, you have made bastards, which will be legitimated at your expence.

its

its execution. The pope's name only was expreſſed; doubtleſs, the blanks were to be filled up with the king of Spain amongſt the reſt. By this they too plainly acknowledged the views of the Spaniards. Charles V. required nothing elſe than ſuch a ſcheme when he ſaid, that he had been falſely accuſed of hating a king of France, ſince inſtead of one, he wiſhed there had been twenty.

No perſon believed that the league, by treating with the king on conditions ſo injurious to this prince, could perſuade themſelves that he would ſubmit to them. It was more than probable therefore, that they did it in order to make his refuſal give diſguſt to the dregs of the people. The king likewiſe, far from treating theſe propoſals as a ſerious matter, or anſwering them privately, as he would have done had he thought it poſſible to have come to any accommodation, ſacrificed them immediately to the proteſtants, who gave this treaty all the epithets it deſerved; it even turned the catholics againſt the author; for theſe catholics finding that all there was badly deſigned; that it was full of articles which, being only ſnares, would prove an inexhauſtible ſource of difficulties; and that there were ſome which it was impoſſible to execute, they took no notice of what made the ſtrongeſt impreſſion upon them, which was, that by the diſtribution of favours and rewards, nothing remained for them.

The king making no other uſe of theſe propoſals than to bind thoſe who ſerved him more cloſely to his intereſts, gave a very ſhort and cool anſwer to the preſident Jeannin. It was at the camp before Caudebec. There is no neceſſity to repeat the contents.

Civil wars, eſpecially thoſe wherein religion has a ſhare, give a freedom and boldneſs which on any other occaſions would be very ſurprizing. Jeannin, offended at the ridicule with which his project had been treated, anſwered in writing, which he addreſſed

ſed to the king himſelf, That he was greatly aſtoniſhed at his behaviour towards him: That if his project was well conſidered, he would find that he had not yet ſtipulated for ſufficient advantages for the league: That the only fear he had when he drew it up was, that it would be diſavowed, eſpecially by the duke of Nemours, who, inſtead of a government, had already formed a principality for himſelf in Lyonnois, with the approbation of the king of Spain: And he had ſtill more reaſon to believe the duke of Maïenne would be diſpleaſed at it, whoſe intereſts had been too much neglected in this treaty (certainly this moderation of Jeannin's was truly admirable:) That, in his opinion, he had ſhewn the king his readineſs to ſerve him, by not mentioning his giving the league any towns as a ſecurity for the performance of his word (as if thoſe which were to be beſtowed upon the governors did not anſwer the ſame purpoſe:) That, to pleaſe the king, he had eluded the queſtion, of making thoſe governments hereditary. This indeed was true, but after the privileges he had inveſted them with, would it be difficult for them to ſeize this alſo?

JEANNIN afterwards obſerved to the king, with great freedom, or rather an exceſs of inſolence, that the catholics having with juſtice taken arms againſt him, he ought not to make uſe of the words crime, and abolition; for they were entitled to treat with him upon the foot of an equal, becauſe they did not look upon themſelves as enemies ſubdued, nor him as king, while the cardinal of Bourbon, the only acknowledged king in France, was alive; nor even after his death could he claim that title, on account of his religion; therefore it was the body of the monarchy which treated with a foreign prince: that, for the ſame reaſon, the king's acceptation could not be called an edict of pacification, granted to a king by his ſubjects, but an amicable contract with a people, who freely choſe a king after the reaſons for refuſing

refuſing him were removed. Many other impertinences with which this letter was filled, do not deſerve to be repeated. Jeannin concluded, by abſolutely rejecting all aſſiſtance from meſſieurs de Bouillon, Du-Pleſſis, and the other proteſtants whom the king had mentioned in his letter, and declared he would have no intercourſe with them.

WHILE the king deliberated upon what reſolutions he ſhould take, the States were held at Paris †. The hint of aſſembling them came from the prince of Parma; and it muſt be confeſſed, that by the methods he purſued there, in order to accompliſh his deſigns, a reſolution more dangerous for the king's cauſe need not have been taken. This general intended to have ſummoned them at Rheims, and to have renewed all his endeavours to make himſelf maſter of the deliberations within; while, with a ſuperior army without, he retained the people in his party, and the nobility in their duty, he perſuaded himſelf that he ſhould obtain an election entirely agreeable to the king of Spain, and cauſe the elected monarch to be crowned immediately. This whole plan was the effect of deep politics ‡: quick diſpatch, great liberality, a well-choſen opportunity, and, above all, an army capable of inſpiring awe, theſe were indeed the true means of bringing affairs to an iſſue, and of excluding the king for ever from them. But the prince of Parma dying juſt as he was upon the point of executing theſe projects, they all expired with him, or were afterwards conducted nei-

† The States were ordered to meet the 25th of January, but they were not opened till next day, in the Louvre, which was prepared for that purpoſe. All the ſpeeches, acts, and ceremonies of this aſſembly, may be found in many of the hiſtorians. See particularly de Thou, book cv. Davila, book xiii. Memoirs of the league, vol. V. Villeroy, Mem. of State, vol. IV. Mem. of Nevers, vol. II. Matthieu, vol. II. Chron. Novenn. for the year 1593, book v. Satyre Menippée, &c.

‡ See the duke of Parma's letter on this ſubject to the king of Spain, Chron. Novenn. book iv. fol. 5.

ther

ther with order, diligence, or other neceſſary meaſures. It is true, that the count of Mansfield, who ſucceeded him, came at laſt with an army as far as Noyon; but at that time, the ſame ſubmiſſion was not made to Spain, as had been before they had entertained hopes of ſeeing the king abjure calviniſm; and the count of Mansfield returned without having done any thing; beſides, there was now an alteration in a circumſtance, which to the prince of Parma had always appeared of great conſequence; this was, that inſtead of getting the ſtates aſſembled at Rheims, the duke of Maïenne had prevailed upon the pope and the Spaniſh plenipotentiaries, who were don Diego d'Ibarra, the duke of Feria §, Inigo de Mandoce, and count John-Baptiſt de Taxis, to conſent that they ſhould be aſſembled at Paris. Each of theſe perſons hoped, that in a city which was entirely in their intereſts by their alliances, their intrigues, and their preſents, they might practiſe a thouſand artifices to engage all the ſuffrages for themſelves: but when this great diſorderly body was aſſembled, they found themſelves croſſed by ſo many, and ſuch different intereſts, that the Spaniards having only their own voices, like the reſt, and deſtitute beſides of the means of making them be heard by force, found that they ſhould meet with more obſtacles than they had foreſeen; and from that time they feared, that they ſhould draw no other advantage from all their intrigues and ſecret practices, than the embroiling affairs ſome time longer; till this entanglement of ſo many different views, and the impoſſibility of ever uniting them, would at length oblige them to obey the dictates of reaſon.

How would they be able to bring the pope into their meaſures, or rather his legates, who had each his particular deſign, the king of Spain, the dukes of Savoy and Lorrain, the dukes of Maïenne, Nemours, Mercœur, and Guiſe, in fine, the princes of

§ Laurent. Saurès de Figueroa y Cordua, duke of Feria.

the

the blood, who had also their different designs †, of which they were no less tenacious? All those factions, when the states were opened, reflecting that this was the last effort of the party, had recourse to a thousand stratagems which destroyed each other, and according to the notion of what is called policy, involved and concealed themselves under false measures to bring others to the purpose they desired. To the great number of counsels already so perplexing, they added a flux and reflux of opinions, which formed a maze where no person knew where he was. No one declared his sentiments at first, but seemed to speak only to hide his emulation, and to make his real designs be guessed at.

THE Spaniards at this juncture regulated their conduct by their usual maxim, and the particular cast of their nation; or perhaps their design was to sound the inclinations of the French, to discover if they would bear willingly a foreign prince to reign over them. When they perceived that by this delay they were in danger of losing what they had been so long aiming at, they at last made the most reasonable proposition in their power, which was the marriage of the infanta ‡ with the cardinal of Bour-

† "The league was of this advantage to France," says le Grain, "that every one was willing to command in it, and none to obey."

‡ Clara Eugenia of Austria, second daughter of Philip II. of Spain. Catherine, the eldest, was married to the duke of Savoy, but not till after the cardinal of Placentia, legate, and cardinal de Pellevé, had endeavoured, in vain, to bring France under subjection to Spain, by the marriage of this infanta with prince Ernest of Austria, the eldest of the emperor's brothers. Villeroy's Memoirs of state impute to the court of Madrid, as an error, by which Spain lost the crown of France, their not suffering this infanta, the future queen, to come to France, unless the prince whom they destined for her husband was declared and and acknowledged; but I doubt whether the arrival of this princess at Paris would have removed all obstacles. According to de Thou, the duke of Guise's party was so powerful, by the union of Spain and the clergy of France, that had not his own uncle, the duke of Maïenne, secretly opposed him, and the king of Navarre declared very seasonably his resolution to embrace the catholic religion, in all probability this prince would have been declared king. "The duke of Guise," says father de Chalons, after Matthieu, Hist. of France,

vol.

bon. All the French nobles, with the Guiſes at their head, waited only for this ſtep of the Spaniards, and concurred in one common deſign, which was, to make uſe of this propoſal to kindle between the king and cardinal all the hatred that could animate two declared rivals, and conſequently between the king and the leaders of the contrary party, the count of Soiſſons, the duke of Nevers, Longueville, and others. They ſuffered this propoſition to be carried ſo far, as to have the articles drawn up and ſent by Bellozanne to the cardinal; but the nobles afterwards uniting, knew how to put a ſtop to it, which they did, with a deſign that may be eaſily penetrated into, in order that what theſe lords took away from the cardinal and the princes of the blood might fall into their own power, as the princes of the blood, by ſeeming to reſign their hopes in favour of the cardinal, had an oblique view towards themſelves; which ſhewed them, that after him the crown would more eaſily revert to them, than if a foreigner had firſt poſſeſſed it. The Spaniards comprehended the meaning of all the intrigues of the princes of Lorrain, and, one may eaſily imagine, never forgave them.

THIS common intereſt of the nobles, which united them againſt Spain and the princes of the blood, divided them afterwards into as many factions as there were perſons. Each thought himſelf moſt worthy of the diadem. Jealouſy and malice ſoon actuated the whole party to ſuch a degree, that each diſputed for the crown, for the ſole pleaſure of hindering another from obtaining it. Some of theſe parties objected to one perſon only, and comforted himſelf for not being able to ſucceed in his own deſigns, if he could overthrow his. Of this claſs was the clergy, which, without naming any perſon for

vol. III. p. 227. "was praiſed for the moderation he diſcovered on "this occaſion. He gave no indications of his having flattered him-"ſelf with ſuch agreeable hopes, nor ſhewed any ſolicitude for ſo "great a fortune."

the

the throne, uſed only their utmoſt endeavours to hinder the king of Navarre from being elected. Another undertook to ſupplant two, three, or more of the competitors: but there was not one from any of theſe motives, who was capable of forming a party ſo much ſuperior to the others, as to bear down all its oppoſers. The people, although generally the ſlaves of prejudice to one particular candidate, were here, by the number of them, hindered from determining. And upon this occaſion it happened, as has been often experienced, that adopting the ſtyle of that ſort of indifferent and neutral perſons who are always to be found in public aſſemblies, an affair of this importance was turned into a mere ſhew, and cauſed only laughter at the unhappy candidates who were rejected.

But theſe intrigues, this play of falſhoods, could not laſt long; in ſuch ſort of debates, the firſt reſolutions, and the firſt motions, are ſuggeſted by the paſſions. If by a concurrence of cauſes they are prevented from ſucceeding, reaſon, though it ſlowly appears in tumultuous aſſemblies, yet forces itſelf at laſt to be ſeen and acknowledged, and after long oppoſition is followed through neceſſity. The firſt thing that was done on this occaſion was by means of the parliament, which weighing deliberately the different propoſals that were brought upon the carpet, either for a Spaniſh king, or one of Lorrain, found that it would be an everlaſting reproach to them, to ſuffer a law ſo fundamental as the hereditary right of ſucceſſion to be infringed, and began, without knowing what would be the conſequence, by granting an edict * which forbad the carrying

† The edict was paſſed the 28th of June. "This action," ſays Villeroy, vol. II. p. 58. "was the more applauded by all good men, "as the danger that attended it was ſo great; it was certainly of great "uſe, and I muſt ſay, that the kingdom owed its ſafety to the courts." John le Maitre, although made preſident of the parliament of the league by the duke of Maïenne, the preſident Edward Molé, the counſellors William du Vair, afterwards keeper of the ſeals, Stephen Fleu-

ry,

the crown out of the royal family. This was far from being a new thought; there was not one whose mind had not suggested it to him, and who was not conscious of the injustice of acting contrary to it.

The claims of royal family began to appear sacred to a thousand persons, who a moment before had not reflected on them. Spain, whose attempt was frustrated by this edict, might have still warded off the blow, had she united with the Lorrains, whom it equally struck at; but the more she thought she was entitled to depend upon their suffrages, the more irreconcileable was her enmity toward them, when she found they had betrayed her. They made her no offers, and their constant misunderstanding insensibly paved the way for the victory of their common adversary.

To accomplish this, there remained but one step to be taken, which was prevented by the strong opposition of the clergy *. A stop therefore was put to the affair for some time: they resumed, as if for amusement, some of their former worn-out projects. Different hopes were again raised to be soon and effectually extinguished; for there was not one per-

ry, Peter d'Amours, Lazarus Coqueley, &c. were the chief promoters of this edict: in consequence of it, the president le Maitre, with the counsellors de Fleury and d'Amours, were deputed that same day, to make remonstrances to the duke of Maïenne, as lieutenant-general of the crown. The duke complained bitterly of this affront from the parliament; and the archbishop of Lyons, who was with him, having repeated the word *affront* in a passion, and treated the deputies with bad language, the president le Maitre silenced him with great authority and dignity. See vol. IX. of the Memoirs of the league. Memoirs of Nevers, vol. II. p. 635.

* All the Memoirs of these times confirm the violent proceedings and outrageous behaviour of the cardinal de Plesance, legate, and of almost all the bishops of France, and curates of Paris and the Sorbonne. "*Debourbonnez-nous, Seigneur,*" was the explication a preacher gave of these words of scripture, *Eripe me, Domine, de luto fæcis.* There are an infinite number of such circumstances, the malignity of which cannot surely be excused by zeal for the true religion. De Thou observes, that the clergy was the only one of the three estates that persisted in voting for a war.

ſon who did not tacitly confeſs, that if the king † abjured calviniſm, all conteſt would be at an end. Every one voted for the engaging him to comply with this demand, and they applied themſelvas to it, not ſlightly as before, but from a more clear and diſtinct view of the true intereſt of the ſtate: a view which from this moment became that of the parliament, and the whole people, and which met with no more oppoſition, but what ſome nobles for their perſonal intereſt were pleaſed to give it.

The dukes of Maïenne, Nemours, and Mercœur, were the moſt difficult to be perſuaded into theſe meaſures, as was moſt natural, conſidering that they, of all others, had flattered themſelves with hopes of the greateſt advantage: but bad as their intentions were, they could not hinder a conference with the king from being propoſed, and paſſed by a plurality of voices in the ſtates. It was, however, in their power to deſtroy or ſuſpend the effect, and they did not fail to do ſo: for this purpoſe they uſed their utmoſt endeavours, they ſet their emiſſaries to work, took advantage of the king's ‡ bad fortune at Selles, cauſed Mansfield to advance, who took Noyon, gave all the force they were able to the pope's refuſing to allow the cardinal de Gondy*, and the marquis de Piſany, whom the king had ſent to him, to enter Rome, or any of his holineſs's territories. Could they flatter themſelves, that the irregularity of theſe proceedings would not be commented upon, after having ſo often proteſted, that in all their actions they had only the intereſt of religion in view,

† It is clear at this time, that Henry IV. was not only the lawful heir to the crown, that was never diſputed, but alſo that in his perſon the three races of our kings were united. See a proof in a new work entitled, Genealogical hiſtories of all the ſovereign families, in the 22d genealogical table.

‡ The journey which Henry IV. took towards Tours, and the neceſſity to which he reduced himſelf of raiſing the ſiege of the city of Selles in Berry, were then thought very conſiderable faults.

* Peter de Gondy, biſhop of France. John de Vivonne, marquis of Piſany.

and

and that they were ready to submit to Henry as soon as he should quit his erroneous opinions. No person was deceived; and although they prevented all the consequences which the conference held at Surêne, in the month of April †, might have produced, it was thought the last effort of an expiring power. It appeared plainly, that if the king, after having consented that no protestant deputy should appear at that conference, had not yet intirely complied, it was because the leaguers raised more difficulties about temporal, than the king about spiritual matters. The people, especially, were disposed to do him justice, and the sweets of a truce, which was the only benefit resulting from his conference, drew them entirely into his interests. But I now return more particularly to this prince.

He made Mante the place of his constant residence, where all his prudence was scarce sufficient to keep a party, composed of persons so opposite in their sentiments, together. He had been alarmed, at first, with the convention of the states; and with so much the more reason, as the first thought which suggested itself to his mind on that occasion, was, that an assembly, in appearance so august and respectable, would soon find a remedy for the disorders of the state. Under this apprehension, the king began to flatter the catholicks more than usual; and, as we have just seen, made some efforts to gain the pope, to the end that he might not extinguish in both parties the only hope that could hinder them from coming to an open rupture with him. It may be easily

† In the latter end of April, and during part of the month of May. See in the records, vol. 8889 of MSS. in the royal library. Villeroy's Mem. of state, vol. IV. Matthieu and Cayet, ibid. &c. The archbishop of Bourges, who pleaded the king's cause, maintained that obedience is due to pagan princes, and supported this assertion by the authority of St. Paul, the privilege of the Gallic church, and by many other unanswerable proofs. Weak as the arguments alledged by the archbishop of Lyons to the contrary were, they carried their point in this conference.

imagined, that this could not be done without awakening the diſcontent of the huguenots. But the king by his wiſdom was beforehand with them, and it appeared, that nothing was done but in conſequence of that general council of the proteſtants, of which we have already ſeen that the reſult has been to turn every thing into art and negotiation. When their complaints grew too loud, and the king found reaſon to fear that they would carry things to extremity againſt him, he knew how to appeaſe them by ſome new military expedition, which he likewiſe engaged in, to convince the people ſtill more, that a prince, who, by his kind and gracious behaviour appeared deſerving of their love, was, by his valour and abilities in war, no leſs worthy of their obedience.

As ſoon as he was informed of the diſunion that raged in the ſtates, the confuſion and oppoſition that every word gave riſe to, he looked upon this aſſembly to be the happy means by which his deſigns would be accompliſhed, and all his perplexity now was the regulating his conduct with the great number of mediators who meddled in his affairs, as ſoon as it was propoſed in the ſtates to treat with him. This prince would at that time have met with no obſtacle to retard his gaining poſſeſſion of the crown, if he had appeared willing to ſatisfy the exceſſive demands which the nobles and other members of the league began to make him; but he was reſolved that poſterity ſhould never reproach him with his having owed the royal dignity to his meanneſs in ſubmitting to the rapaciouſneſs and caprice of his ſubjects. That he was thus able to reſiſt his natural inclination and ardor to aſcend the throne, was a convincing proof of his being worthy of it.

I OUGHT here to do juſtice to ſome of them (the number indeed is not very great) but I am well aſſured that * meſſieurs de Belliévre, de Belin, and

* Pomponne de Belliévre, Francis de Foudoas d'Averton, Sebaſtian Zamet,

Zamet,

Zamet, had no view to their own intereſts in thoſe applications which they made to the king. Some others there might be who behaved in the ſame manner, but of them I cannot ſpeak with any certainty. As to the reſt, I ſhall content myſelf with naming the principal agents deputed to the king, as well by the league and the ſtates, as by the clergy and French nobility. I ſhall not repeat names already mentioned, but add to them only the cardinal de Gondy, the marechals d'Aumont and de Bouillon, the admiral de Biron, meſſieurs d'O, de Vitry, de Lux, Du-Pleſſis, la Verriere, de Fleury, and the abbé de Cheſy. A great many others remained undiſtinguiſhed in this croud, although there was not one amongſt them, who was not perſuaded in his own mind, that he ſhould be one day mentioned in hiſtory, as the perſon who had brought affairs to a concluſion. I once counted over to the king, by their names, above a hundred of thoſe perſons. Theſe that remained would make a very fine figure here, if one could for a moment only open and diſplay the hearts of theſe ardent counſellors. Vanity, the deſire of favour, ſelf-intereſt, vile artifice, jealouſy, knavery, and treachery, would be all one would diſcover there.

THERE were ſome, who till the laſt moment did not quit their diſguiſe, by which they abuſed the privilege of conferring with this prince, in order to betray him more ſecurely, and to ſpread ſnares for him, which any other could not have eſcaped. It is with regret, that I name Villeroy * and Jeannin

* In the firſt volume of Villeroy's Memoirs of ſtate, which conſiſts only of a juſtification of this ſecretary's conduct, he candidly confeſſes that he would never have been prevailed upon to engage in the party of Henry IV. if he had not beforehand taken all the neceſſary meaſures for the ſecurity of the catholic religion. He confeſſes alſo, with the ſame ſincerity, his connections with the league and Spain, and the political principle which he had eſpouſed, that in making peace, it was moſt advantageous for the king to ſeparate him from the intereſt of England, and unite him with Spain. With regard to other accuſations, he defends himſelf with great force: He proteſted, that

here; but the fact is too well known, and the confusion they were afterwards in, when the king publicly reproached them with it at Fontainbleau, is a full conviction of it, as well as the interested conduct Villeroy afterwards observed. Two days only before the king's abjuration, these gentlemen procured a secret assembly to be held, composed of the pope's, and the king of Spain's ministers, and the chief partisans of the league, either in person, or by proxy, for the dukes of Nemours and Mercœur were then absent. In this assembly, the legate made them all swear, upon the cross, the evangelists, and even the host, to maintain the league, till they saw, upon the throne of France, a king agreeable to Spain, and, above all, never to acknowledge the king of Navarre for such, though he should, to the claim his birth gave him, add that of a sincere abjuration. This very pious and charitable oath, signed by the whole assembly, was inclosed in a packet, and sent to Rome. It was from a letter wrote by the cardinal of Placentia to some members of parliament, the bearer of which was taken up at Lyons by the king's soldiers, that we came to the knowledge of

he never received any money from Spain; and whatever arguments he offered, either in the states or any other councils, were sincerely meant for the king's advantage, and to forward the peace. See the note upon this subject some pages above, and what is said in the preface to this work. As to the oath taken by the league, which the duke of Sully here mentions, and which is the heaviest article against Villeroy, he is so fully justified in Matthieu, vol. II. p. 153. and following, Chron. Novenn. book v. fol. 229. and some other historians, that it must be confessed, that this is an error in our Memoirs. According to these historians, Villeroy had not only no part in this oath, but was also absolutely ignorant of it, till Henry IV. shewed him this writing at Fontainbleau, and charged him to remonstrate the baseness of such a proceeding to the duke of Maïenne, whom Villeroy was at that time by the king's command, honestly endeavouring to separate from the league. But it is still more certain that Villeroy reproaching the duke of Maïenne with this criminal design, Maïenne answered him in these words, "I would neither tell you, nor the "president Jeannin of this oath, because I promised the Spaniards "and the league to the contrary, and was not ignorant that you would "never be brought to approve of such a remedy." Matthieu, p. 155.

this

this oath. In this manner did they ſport with fidelity, virtue, and religion. This circumſtance, though anticipated, ſeems to me not improperly mentioned here.

AMONGST that croud of negotiators and counſellors there were many who imagined they could deceive the king, while in reality they deceived themſelves. The king let them remain in this opinion, not to perſuade theſe ſchemers, but the people, that he might be eaſily brought to the point they wiſhed. This I had from the king himſelf. I remember one night, which was, I believe, on the 15th of February, when all the courtiers had quitted his apartment, he ſent Feret, his ſecretary, to bring me to him, who introduced me into his chamber, where I found him in bed. He owned to me, that he was under a neceſſity of uſing this precaution whenever he had an inclination to converſe with me, that he might not give diſguſt to the catholics, and the proteſtants likewiſe, who hated me ſtill more, perhaps, through jealouſy, than the former did through a natural averſion. After complaining of this reſtraint in terms very obliging to me, he talked to me of thoſe affairs which were at preſent upon the carpet, and of the intrigues of the courtiers to obtain each ſeparately the honour of the diviſion. I had ſaid before, and it has been repeated to the king, that I was afraid his eaſy diſpoſition would make him give up more than he ought to do. But the manner in which this prince repreſented to me the ſtate of affairs, and painted the different characters of all the pretenders to his favour, convinced me I had been deceived. I was ſurprized at that juſtneſs of penetration with which he immediately diſcerned truth amidſt the ſhades that obſcured it. Nor was I leſs charmed, when ſubmitting his knowledge to mine, he inſiſted upon my preſcribing to him the manner in which he ſhould finiſh an affair which, to confeſs the truth, was not without danger till the

laſt moment. I endeavoured to excuſe myſelf from accepting this honour, but all I could obtain was a delay of three days to take my reſolution: it was during this converſation that the king firſt mentioned to me his deſign of entruſting his finances to my care.

AFTER three days deep reflection, I waited upon the king with the ſame ſecrecy as before. I did not approve of any of theſe ſchemes that had been recommended to him, and which differed only in the proportion of thoſe rewards which were to be granted to the members of the league, and other intereſted perſons. My opinion was, that matters were not yet ripe for a concluſion, which I ſupported with the following reaſons: That the king was freed from that only fear which could induce him to put a precipitate end to the preſent negotiations, by which I meant the fear that all theſe competitors for royalty ſhould unite reſolutely in favour of one particular perſon, becauſe the miſunderſtanding which had already riſen amongſt the princes, the nobles, and the Spaniſh miniſters, gaining ſtrength every day, we might expect to ſee them ſoon deſtroy each others pretenſions. From whence it muſt neceſſarily happen, that thoſe who were diſintereſted, and had right intentions, would bind themſelves more cloſely to the king's party: That this effect was already indiſputable, with regard to thoſe cities of France which were at too great a diſtance from the league, and the cabal, to be influenced by that eagerneſs and warmth which actuated them: That the heads of the league themſelves, through hatred, jealouſy, or even a conſideration of their own intereſt, would one after the other, throw themſelves into the king's party: That the bare hopes only which this prince would ſuffer them to entertain, would give him beforehand moſt of thoſe advantages he could gain from the accompliſhment of them, without hazarding any thing: That the dangers of a too precipitate execution were,

firſt,

firſt, an open deſertion of the proteſtants, who were not yet ſufficiently prepared for this change, which might produce the moſt fatal conſequences, ſince the king, not being yet ſecure of all the catholics to oppoſe them, would remain at the mercy of both parties; and, ſecondly, the neceſſity he laid himſelf under, by throwing himſelf into the arms of the catholics, of granting all their demands, however exorbitant they were, which, both for the preſent and the future, was of dangerous conſequence: That it was neceſſary to allow theſe ſchemers, and all the chiefs of the league, time to give a diſtinct form to their demands, by which they would perceive, that they were encroaching upon each other, and they would be obliged voluntarily to reduce their extravagant pretenſions, to agree that by ſetting too high a value upon ſlight ſervices they would put it out of the king's power to ſatisfy them, and at length to ſeek their own intereſt in the general intereſt of the ſtate. I told the king, that he would find the firſt who took this ſtep, would be thoſe, who, having only been influenced by the foreign powers to demand rewards, which they were perhaps deſirous of ſharing with them, would begin to be ſenſible of the injuſtice of their proceedings in proportion as their hatred of thoſe foreigners increaſed: and that thoſe very foreigners, finding the king ſo ready to comply with the demands that were made upon him, would prevail upon others to aſk for what they did not believe they could obtain for themſelves.

I SHEWED the king, that, whatever change ſhould happen in his affairs, it could not be ſo ſudden, but he would have it in his power to prevent it, ſince the ſpeaking a few words only would anſwer that purpoſe; whereas, by gaining time, he would diſcover all their deſigns; and ſecretly breaking thoſe connections between them, all that remained to put an abſolute end to the treaty, would be to beſtow rewards upon thoſe who had a right to demand them.

To bring affairs happily to this end, I saw nothing better to be done, than for the king to persist in the conduct he had hitherto observed. To receive every one kindly, promise little, seem desirous of bringing matters to a conclusion, ascribe always the fault of delays to obstacles, and earnestly endeavour to remove them. This, in my opinion, is the manner in which one generally ought to act in political affairs which are a little perplexed. It is well known that the difference between precipitation and diligence is, that this last, as much a foe to inaction and sloth as the other, engages in nothing without having first consulted judgment upon it; while in the practice they are almost always confounded.

In these arguments which I made use of to the king, his supposed conversion was always the foundation I built upon; and his majesty, by contradicting none of them, gave me to understand, that he would not be stopped by that formality. I added only one thing more, which was, that he would not suffer this negociation to degenerate into mere debates, as his adversaries did, but join some military expedition to it. Having many other reasons to add, I offered the king to give them to him in writing. His majesty replied, there was no occasion for it; that he believed he comprehended all I could have to say to him; and that when he had more leisure, he would discourse with me upon a system, by which it seemed to him, that after having united himself to the catholics, it would not be impossible to reconcile them to the protestants.

That this resolution might be fully executed, the king, at his return to Mante, after the breaking off the conference of Surêne, caused others wholly upon the subject of religion *, to be held between the catholic priests, and the protestant clergy, at which he was always present; and, on the other hand, made preparations for opening the campaign,

* At la Villette, at Pontoise, at Mante, and elsewhere,

in

in the month of April, by some action of importance, rather indeed to keep up his reputation with the people, than with design to continue in earnest a war, which for want of money he was unable to support.

This designed expedition was the siege of Dreux, for which the king borrowed a large sum of money from the city of Mante; and leaving that place about the beginning of April, came to pass the river of Eure at Serisy, while I on my side assembled, and led the necessary artillery. The admiral de Biron †, by the king's order, invested the city, which made little resistance: all the difficulty lay in taking the castle, and especially the tower of Grise, which was impenetrable to the cannon. I promised the king to carry it, if he would give me four English and Scots miners, and a certain number of workmen. My enterprize did not fail to furnish matter for laughter and contempt to my enemies, who eagerly seized this occasion to mortify me. The king, though very doubtful of my success, granted my request. I led my miners and pioneers to the foot of the tower, where to guard them against the fire, and efforts of the besieged, I covered them with mantelets, and strong pieces of wood, and made them apply so closely, and with such eagerness to the work, that out of six and thirty pioneers, which was my whole number, four only could labour at a time: the excessive hardness of the stone exhausted their strength, and covered them with sweat the instant they began to work, but I caused them to be relieved immediately by four others; so that the work was not discontinued for one moment, although the enemies within endeavoured to destroy them, by throwing down large pieces of stone, and firing incessantly upon them.

When I found that, notwithstanding this vigo-

† Charles de Gontaut, son to the marechal, to whom the king gave the title of admiral.

rous

rous defence, I had the very firſt day made an open-ing five feet in height, three in width, and four in depth, I believed the ſucceſs infallible. Six days were conſumed in this work. I encloſed three or four hundred pounds of excellent powder, in ſeveral cavities of ſix or ſeven feet ſquare, in the thickeſt part of the wall, which I ſhut up with ſtrong ſtones cemented together with plaiſter, leaving a paſſage only for two large ſauciſſes of dry hides filled with good powder, the end of which reached to the pow-der within, and joined on the outſide of the tower a train to which the fire was to be put. The duke of Montpenſier, deſirous of ſeeing the diſpoſition of this machine, received a muſket ſhot there in his face. Every one waited impatiently for my confu-ſion, which was all the reſult expected from this great work. And when they were informed of the time when I was to ſet fire to it, they eagerly aſ-ſembled to behold the effect, which was not indeed immediate: for at firſt a low ſound was heard, ac-companied with a thick ſmoke, during which a thouſand contemptuous glances were caſt upon me, and I was forced to endure as many ſtrokes of rail-lery upon my mine; but I ſoon had my revenge. A few minutes after, a thick cloud of ſmoke roſe as high as the tower, and, at the ſame inſtant, we ſaw it divided exactly into two parts, one of which fell, dragging men, women, and children with it, who were buried under its ruins. The other part con-tinued ſtill ſtanding, but in ſuch a condition, that we could behold under its uncovered roof all thoſe that were within, who terrified and aſtoniſhed at ſuch an horrible accident, and at our ſoldiers firing im-mediately upon them, ſent forth moſt lamentable cries. The king, moved with compaſſion, ordered the fire to ceaſe, and ſending for thoſe miſerable ob-jects, gave a crown to each of them. The caſtle inſtantly ſurrendered, and this once I was ſure, that the government of a city, taken almoſt wholly by

my means, would not be refuſed me. But d'O enjoyed the triumph of gaining it from me, and I yielded it to him, after the king had repreſented to me, that the terms he was upon with the catholic party made it impoſſible to diſoblige them on ſo ſlight an occaſion.

THE king ſtopped only to perform a few more ſuch little expeditions, and returned immediately to Mante, to reſume his conferences. This alternate ſucceſſion of war, and debates, laſted all the time that the ſtates continued to be held, and even till the day that the king abjured the proteſtant religion. I ſhould betray the cauſe of truth, if I ſuffered it to be even ſuſpected, that policy, the threats of the catholics, the fatigue of labour, the deſire of reſt, and of freeing himſelf from the tyranny of foreigners, or even the good of the people, though highly laudable in itſelf, had entirely influenced the king's laſt reſolution. As far as I am able to judge of the heart of this prince, which I believe I know better than any other perſon, it was indeed theſe conſiderations which firſt hinted to him the neceſſity of his converſion; and I confeſs that I myſelf ſuggeſted no others to him, fully perſuaded, as I have always been, although a calviniſt, from what I have gathered from the moſt learned of the proteſtant clergy, that God is no leſs honoured in the catholic, than in the proteſtant church. But at length the king was fully convinced that the catholic faith * was the ſecureſt. That native candour and ſincerity which I always obſerved in this prince, perſuades me, that he would not have been able, during all the remainder of his life, to carry on ſuch a fallacy.

THE confeſſion I make here ought not to be judged harſhly of. It is not ſurprizing that Henry, who

* This is the anſwer M. de Perefixe ſays he made to a proteſtant miniſter, who in a diſputation with the romiſh doctors, was driven to confeſs that a man might be as well ſaved in their communion. The confeſſion here made lays Sully open to a very ſenſible attack.

never

never hard any arguments about religion, but in these conferences, and continual controversies †, should suffer him to be drawn on that side, which they took care to make always victorious. For it must be observed as an effect of the king's prudent delays, that every one, even the protestants, nay more, the protestant clergy who were employed in the conferences, were at last throughly convinced that the king's change of religion was a circumstance absolutely necessary for the good of the state, for peace, and even for the advantage of both religions; so that there was a kind of general combination to draw him to it. The protestant clergy either defended themselves no longer, or did it so weakly, that their adversaries had always the advantage.

The abbé Du-Perron, whose triumph there was complete, was not a man that would lose the fruits of his victory. With that soft and insinuating conversation, that strong and persuasive eloquence, that inexhaustible fund of learning, supported by a wonderful memory, he could neither be overthrown, nor convicted of falshood, but by the help of a whole library; a sort of languishing defence. With princes, the progression from complaisance to flattery is very easy. Some of the protestant clergy, who were most about the king, and whom he consulted upon his difficulties, formally betrayed * their faith; or,

† All these discourses of the cardinals and prelates of France, whether intended to enlighten his understanding, or increase his zeal, may be found in the volume of MS. in the king's library, marked 9214.

The sincerity of his conversion is there proved by the following circumstances, his respect for the pope, the cardinals, and the whole clergy, his sollicitude for the conversion of the young prince of Condé, his alliance with the pope, by marrying the princess of Florence, his endeavours to cultivate a good intelligence between the sovereign pontiff and the queen of England, the marriage of his sister with the duke of Bar, the erection of the hospital for sick, and other buildings, the sepulchre of our Lord, and the holy places, the satisfaction which he shewed at the victory gained over the calvinists by the bishop of Evreux, &c.

* D'Aubigné names some of those protestants; he observes also, that

by a designed perplexity, flattered that religion which they already looked upon to be their king's.

THE leaders of the protestant party were not so easily brought to comply with the present exigency. They were often absolutely untractable. It was in vain to remonstrate to them, that by their obstinacy the king would lose the crown, and that since it was necessary it should be possessed by a catholic prince, it was an advantage to them, that this prince was the same who had so long been affectionately united with them, and upon whose friendship they had all the reason to imaginable to depend. They had flattered themselves, that they should see a prince of their own faith upon the throne, and that calvinism should be the established religion in France. They thought it hard to be deprived of this advantage. Self-love in all religions makes such a loss be looked upon as irreparable †.

THE king experienced this excess of discontent, when some of the chief cities in the kingdom, that had been suffered to groan under the oppression of an infinite number of little tyrants, first applied to his majesty, and deputed the count of Belin to demand of him the freedom of commerce. Henry was either at Mante, or at Vernon, when the count of Belin came to make him this proposition, which he would not receive but in the presence of his whole council. There was not a protestant there, who appeared willing he should grant it; and what is still more surprizing, it met with equal opposition from the catholics, without their being able to assign a lawful,

that the marchioness de Monceaux, the king's mistress, acted the same part, in the hope of becoming queen herself, if Henry should be declared king. Vol. III. book iii. chap. 22.

" † If I follow your advice," replied Henry IV. to a clergyman named la Faye, who addressed him in the name of the protestant party, " there will in a little time be neither a king or kingdom in " France. It is my desire to give peace to all my subjects, and quiet " to my own soul; consider among yourselves what is most necessary " for your own security, you shall always find me ready to satisfy " you." Chron. Novenn. ibid.

or

or even a plauſible reaſon, for ſuch a conduct. All theſe perſons were perplexed in their debates, and perceived plainly that their opinion would ſignify nothing, yet could not prevail upon themſelves to alter it. The king looking at me that moment, "Monſieur de Roſny," ſaid he to me, "what "makes you ſo thoughtful? Will not you ſpeak "your mind abſolutely no more than the others?" I took the word, and was not afraid to declare myſelf againſt all thoſe that had voted, by maintaining, that it was neceſſary not to heſitate a moment in compleating the gaining the people over to the king's intereſts, by an inſtance of kindneſs which he might revoke if they made a bad uſe of it. This advice raiſed a cry of diſapprobation, which I have always regarded as a retaliation for that conſent I had extorted from the council (which has been mentioned before.) The king was obliged to yield to their importunity, and the count of Belin returned without ſucceſs.

HENRY, reflecting upon this refuſal, and judging that there wanted but little more of the ſame nature to alienate the people's affections from him, without a poſſibility of regaining them, and to enduce them to go over to the party of his enemies, he reſolved to defer his abjuration no longer. He was now convinced that there was no probability of his ſubduing the reluctance of ſeveral of the proteſtants, or of ever obtaining their free conſent to this proceeding*; but that it was neceſſary to act independently of them, and hazard ſome murmurs, which would end in nothing. As for the catholics of his party, the king endeavoured only to remove their fears that, look-

* Henry IV. was always ſenſible, that his abjuration would expoſe him to great dangers, which made him write in this manner to mademoiſelle d'Eſtrées. "On Sunday I ſhall take a dangerous leap. "While I am writing to you, I have a hundred troubleſome people "about me, which makes me deteſt St. Denis as much as you do "Mante," &c. See the new edition of Henry the Great's letters.

ing

ing upon them as persons of whom he was already secure, he would apply himself wholly to the gaining the rest, by bestowing all rewards upon them. He therefore at last declared publicly, that on the 20th of July he would perform his abjuration, and named the church of St. Denis for this ceremony.

This declaration threw the league into confusion, and filled the hearts of the people, and the catholics of the royal party with joy. The protestants, although they had expected it, discovered their discontent by signs, and low murmurs, and did for form's sake all that such a juncture required of them; but they did not go beyond the bounds of obedience. All the ecclesiastics, with Du-Perron, intoxicated with his triumph, at their head, flocked together; every one was desirous of a share in this work. Du-Perron, for whom I had obtained the bishopric of Evreux, thought he could not shew his gratitude for it in a better manner, than by exercising his function of converter upon me. He accosted me with the air of a conqueror, and proposed to me to be present at a ceremony, where he flattered himself he should shine with such powers of reasoning as would dissipate the profoundest darkness. "Sir," replied I, "all I have to do by being present at your disputes, "is to examine which side produces the strongest "and most effectual arguments. The state of affairs, your number, and your riches, require that "yours should prevail." In effect they did. There was a numerous court at St. Denis, and all was conducted with great pomp and splendor. I may be dispensed with dwelling upon the description of this ceremony here, since the catholic historians* have been so prolix upon that subject.

* See, besides the abovementioned historians, Mezerai, and the volume of MS. marked 8935, in the king's library, where may be found likewise the letter written to his holiness by the king, the commission given to M. Du-Perron, when he went to Rome to make a tender

I DID not imagine I could be of any uſe at this time; therefore kept myſelf retired as one who had no intereſt in the ſhew that was preparing, when I was viſited by Du-Perron, whom the cardinal of Bourbon had ſent to me, to decide a diſpute that had aroſe on occaſion of the terms in which the king's profeſſion of faith ſhould be conceived. The catholic prieſts and doctors loaded him with all the trifles their heads were filled with, and were going to make it a ridiculous, inſtead of a grave and ſolemn compoſition. The proteſtant miniſters, and the king himſelf diſapproved ‡ of the puerilities and trifles with which they had ſtuffed this inſtrument, and it occaſioned debates which had like to have thrown every thing again into confuſion.

I WENT immediately with Du-Perron to the cardinal of Bourbon, with whom it was agreed, that none of theſe articles of faith which were controverted by the two churches, ſhould be omitted, but that all the reſt ſhould be ſuppreſſed as uſeleſs. The parties approved of this regulation, and the * inſtrument was drawn up in ſuch a manner, that the king acknowledged there all the roman tenets upon the Holy Scripture, the church, the number and ceremonies of the ſacraments, the ſacrifice of the maſs, tranſubſtantiation, the doctrine of juſtification, the invocation of Saints, the worſhip of relics and images, purgatory, indulgences, and the ſupremacy

tender of obedience to the pope, and the king's declaration of the motives on which he was converted, &c.

‡ "There is no neceſſity to mention a requiem," ſaid Henry IV. "I am not dead yet."

* See the original of it in the old Memoirs. Du-Pleſſis Mornay, and Mezerai after him, reproached the king and the catholics, apparently without any cauſe, that this firſt inſtrument which they ſuppreſſed, was however the ſame that was ſent to the pope, as if the king had compoſed, written, and ſigned it with his own hand, but in reality counterfeited, by monſieur Lomenie. Theſe are his own words, book i. p. 198. book ii. p. 207.

and

and power of the pope †. After which the ſatisfaction was general ‡.

† Another act of equal validity, by which Henry IV. acknowledges the pope's authority, is the declaration which he made after his converſion, that it was neceſſity and the confuſion of affairs that obliged him to receive abſolution from the prelates of France, rather than from thoſe of the holy father. This declaration is recorded in the third volume of Villeroy's Memoirs of ſtate, p. 61.

‡ It was Renaud, or Beaune de Samblancai, archbiſhop of Bourges, who received the king's abjuration; the cardinal of Bourbon, who was not a prieſt, and nine other biſhops, aſſiſted at the ceremony. Henry IV. entering the chapel of St. Denis, the archbiſhop ſaid to him, "Who are you?" Henry replied, "I am the king." "What "is your requeſt?" ſaid the archbiſhop. "To be received," ſaid the king, "into the pale of the catholic, apoſtolic, and roman church." "Do you deſire it?" added the prelate. "Yes, I do deſire it," replied the king. Then kneeling, ſaid, "I proteſt and ſwear, in the pre- "ſence of almighty God, to live and die in the catholic, apoſtolic, "and roman religion; to protect and defend it againſt all its ene- "mies, at the hazard of my blood and life, renouncing all hereſies "contrary to this catholic, apoſtolic, and roman church." He afterwards put this ſame confeſſion in writing, into the hands of the archbiſhop, who preſented him his ring to kiſs, giving him abſolution with a loud voice, during which *Te Deum* was ſung, &c. See a particular account of the ceremony in the hiſtorians. Cayet, book v. p. 222 and following. Matthieu, &c.

END of the FIRST VOLUME.